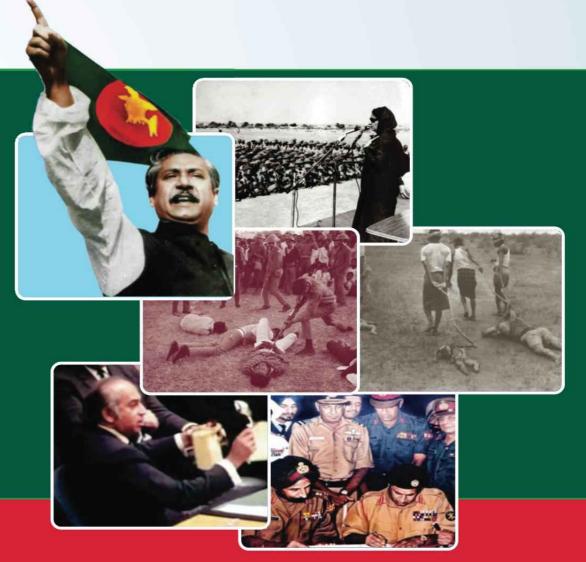
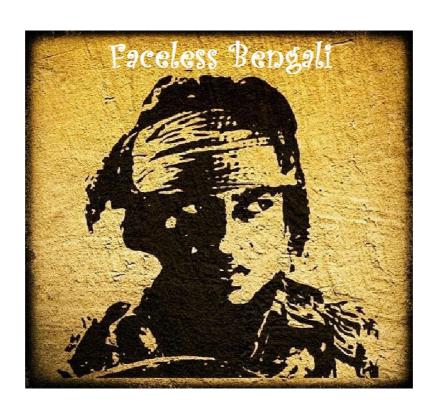
# CREATION OF BANGLADESH MYTHS EXPLODED



Junaid Ahmad



# CREATION OF BANGLADESH: MYTHS EXPLODED JUNAID AHMAD

AJA Publishers

NMC Enterprise

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Printed and bound by Fazlee's Book Supermarket in Karachi, Pakistan, **DEDICATION** 

# I

would like to dedicate this book to the memory of my fellow countrymen who laid down their lives for the creation of Pakistan and its unity. Quran says, 'But do not think of those that have been slain in God's cause as dead. Nay, they are alive! With their Sustainer have they their sustenance, (AlImran, 3:169)'.

1

"There is no doubt that RAW played a vital role during our liberation war, but their motive was to divide Pakistan at any cost to weaken their arch rival [Pakistan]. Their hidden objective is to establish undivided India, which they call 'Akhand Bharat Mata."

#### Major General (retd) Z. A. Khan, former Director, DGFI of Bangladesh

"Regular Indian soldiers disguised as the Mukti Bahini have been fighting the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan from April till December 1971 when after losing 5,000 men in covert operations, Indira ordered open war."

Former Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai confessing to Oriana Fallac, 1984 "I would give 100% credit to India for the liberation of Bangladesh." Deputy Speaker of Bangladesh Parliament, Shawket Ali, 2011

"Indian soil was made available for training camps, hospitals and supply depots for the Mukti Bahini of the Bengali resistance movement... India was in fact waging a proxy war against Pakistan."

#### Archer Blood, American Consul-General to Dhaka, The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh - Memoirs of an American Diplomat

"In 1971 Indiraji decided to help Sheikh Mujibur Rahman carve out an independent Bangladesh for the Bengalis of East Pakistan... was she also simultaneously thinking of an operation in West Pakistan aimed to achieve two major objectives, namely to Balkanize West Pakistan, and to liberate Pakistan occupied Kashmir."

# L.K. Advani, BJP leader, on his blog in 2010 ii ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# A

bove all I would like to thank Allah (SWT) who gave me the strength, courage, inspiration, and means to undertake and complete this book.

I am most grateful to my parents who brought me up as a Muslim and a proud Pakistani, having complete faith in Tauheed, love for our beloved Prophet (PBUH), and the Two-Nation theory which led to the creation of Pakistan.

The guidance, support, and advice given by my respected colleague Mr Mahboobul Hasan, enabled me to complete this daunting task expeditiously and efficiently.

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thanks is due to Ms Tara Kashif for doing a great job of editing the text. Her work has made the book readable.

JUNAID AHMAD August, 2016

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Bhutto arrived in Dhaka in July 1974. I drove to the airport through dense crowds lining both sides of the streets... resounding with slogans like "Bangladesh-Pakistani maître (friendship) Zindabad" and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Zindabad... All the heads of the diplomatic missions were lined up at the tarmac. Bhutto descended from a special Air Force aircraft... I was introduced when he reached me in the reception line. Shaking me by the hand, he turned to Mujibur Rehman and said: "So, he represents the country which re-arranged the map of the subcontinent in 1971." Then, addressing me, he said: "Maybe he (would) help us a second time in re-arranging the map by resolving the Kashmir problem which has been pending for such a long time"... It was the journey back from the airport which was a politically and emotionally disturbing experience for me. As the motorcade moved out, the frenzied enthusiasm of the masses of the people lining the route reached a high pitch, with slogans and shouting in favour of Bhutto and Pakistan... I was told later that people threw garlands of shoes on Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's car on his journey back to the President's house. My flag car was vandalized and the Indian flag tampered with by the crowds... Abusive slogans were shouted against the Indian High Commission and the Government of India. I have to confess that I had tears of anger in my eyes when I returned to my office and sat down to draft my telegram reporting on the arrival ceremonies.

A passage from the book by former Indian Foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit, on the first ever visit to Bangladesh by a Pakistani Prime Minister, Zufligar Ali Bhutto, in July 1974) PROLOGUE

# T

he birth of Bangladesh remains as one of the most painful incident in the seventy-year history of Pakistan. On the fateful day of 16<sup>th</sup> December 1971 34,000 Pakistani troops surrendered in Bangladesh giving up the dream of a united Pakistan. It was not only a military failure, but a failure on all fronts by all. The politicians failed to maintain unity among the diversified Pakistani communities, the media failed to counter the propaganda campaign of India and her cronies, the diplomats failed to defend and present Pakistan's position to the world on the political crisis of 1971, and the defenders failed to secure our ideological and territorial frontiers against internal and external enemies.

Even though, forty-five years have passed, Pakistan, as a nation, is still haunted by this tragic episode of its dismemberment. Every year the date of 16th December revives emotions of sorrow, grief, and guilt; and many of us only manage to mourn on our blunders. Great nations learn from their past, but except bereavement we, as a nation, have not learned from our historical blunders. Our flawed political and diplomatic strategies continue to compromise our national interests. Despite the humiliating experience, we continue to stick to ineffective and outdated polices and behaviours. This inadequacy has reincarnated old and given birth to new national, regional, and global foes to plot against Pakistan's unity, sovereignty, and existence.

Since 1971, sizeable yet casual analysis has emerged and numerous narratives have been written by intellectuals, academicians, military personnel, journalists, diplomats, and politicians from across the world. However, a holistic view and account of the tragedy of 1971 seems to be missing. This attempt would endeavour to present a comprehensive and balanced picture of Pakistan's dismemberment and creation of Bangladesh. Pakistan was not bifurcated instantaneously on 16th December 1971, rather a series of events lead to its catastrophic division. This book is a humble attempt to trace the historical, social, strategic, political, economic, and ideological roots which led to the day of this dissolution of the miracle, called Pakistan.

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Additionally, several myths have been created, propagated, and disseminated by India and, at her behest, the Bangladeshi government, to defame Pakistan and her institutions. This book has been divided into eight chapters which provide a comprehensive view of the tragedy of 1971. The chapters are summarized as under:

In Chapter One: Introduction, we discuss the various myths, that have been propagated, and facts related to the creation of Bangladesh. Firstly, we summarize various myths like how the Agartala Case is seen as a conspiracy, how the Mukti Bahini is seen as a reactionary force (while in actuality they were basically terrorists), and how Pakistan is blamed for initiating the war with India. Other myths such as the myth of 3 million Bengalis killed by Pakistani forces, or the capture of 93,000 Pakistani army personnel as POWs in Bangladesh, etc. are dispelled. Each of these and others have been discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two is on the 'Creation of Pakistan', detailing how Pakistan was perceived and set-up by the Hindus and British. This was a consequence of the Hindu belief that Pakistan is innate, integral part of their 'Akhand Bharat', destined to return to make India whole again. Pakistan has had countless enemies from within and outside, who, from its inception, have tried to destroy it. These include, not only Hindu nationalist parties, but almost all the Islamic / Muslim parties of India, the British, Sikhs, and others. The dismemberment of Pakistan is one of the success stories of these foes.

In Chapter Three: Dismemberment Starts, we cover all major events that led to the East Pakistanis' demands of a separate homeland. A complete picture of the language issue, the economic depravity, biasness in government and other issues, with supporting facts, is given.

In Chapter Four: India Machinations, we expose how India was the puppet master in this whole dismemberment drama. We start by presenting how India managed to take over all the princely states including Sikkim, Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir and her strong desire to treat all her neighbours Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka as her vassal states. In the case of Pakistan and her role in the creation of Bangladesh we discuss in detail, India's foreign policy, her relationships with Mujib and the Mukti Bahini, and how India and RAW were at the forefront of the Bengali call for separation. Additionally, this chapter exposes the creation of 180 training camps for the training of the Mukti Bahini terrorists, India conducting espionage and terrorist activities, and more than 50,000 Indian soldiers actively helping the Mukti Bahini terrorists, etc.

Chapter Five: The 1971 Insurgency, deals with the events that finally led to the dismemberment of Pakistan. Here we look at the elections of 1970 of Pakistan and their effects and at how the triumvirate of Yahya, Bhutto, and Mujib played their parts in the unfolding of events culminating in the creation of Bangladesh. This chapter further delves into 'Operation Searchlight', its implications, and the war of 1971, the interjection of India into the Pakistani political scene, and the catastrophic blunders of Pakistani politicians bringing shame as a result of Pakistan's dismemberment. This chapter concludes by shedding light on the role of Bhutto at home and in the UN, with the mistakes of the Pakistani establishment, and the Indian diplomatic and media campaign playing the background score to consummate the orchestration of the division of Pakistan.

In Chapter Six: Atrocities Committed by Mukti Bahini, we give a detailed account of the terrorist activities of the Mukti Bahini, revealing the atrocities it committed with India's support. This chapter dispels the notion of the inaccurately, exaggerated deaths of the innocent Bengalis at the hands of the Pakistan Army and brings to light the reckless carnage of West Pakistanis by Mukti Bahini. All these revelations are buttressed with evidences from credible Bengali, Indian, and Western sources.

In Chapter Seven: Post Dismemberment, we cover the events after the dismemberment of 1971. The chapter further analyses various countries' reaction to the creation of Bangladesh, the treatment of POW's, and the continued Indian manipulation of Bengalis, etc. In conclusion, the chapter elaborates on the politically self-serving, unpatriotic action of Bhutto's recognition of Bangladesh, legitimizing its existence for the sought-after membership of the UN.

Chapter Eight: Way Forward, deals with the steps recommended for Pakistan for clearing its blood-stained reputation and providing closure to Bengalis and Pakistanis affected by the calamitous vicissitudes of 1971. The Indian and Bangladeshi governments have been on numerous occasions issued made maligning statements about Pakistan and its role in 1971. This chapter attempts to unearth the barbaric treatment of the 'friends of Pakistan' by the Bangladeshi government and its kangaroo courts with the much-needed response

vii to the planned Denial of Liberation War Act at the local and international level.

A comprehensive methodology has been adopted to provide a balanced and complete document on the calamity of 1971. Both primary and secondary sources have been used in our investigation. A detailed study of Bangladeshi, Indian, and Pakistani narratives has been carried out to provide a better understanding. Books by Indian and Bengali army officers, militants, politicians, intellectuals have been studied for understanding their perspective on the event of 1971. Interviews of Pakistani soldiers, army officers, members of the Pakistan Air Force and the Navy, civilians, and intellectuals have been conducted to get first-hand information about their experiences in East Pakistan. The original texts of agreements, official reports, white papers and treaties between Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India have been accessed for authentic information. The UN resolutions and UNSC meetings have also been studied to provide international context and perspective. To attain complete credibility, FIRs lodged against the militants of the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini for their heinous crimes have been accessed. Further, a detailed study of national newspapers – Pakistan Observer, Dawn, Daily Jang – Indian newspapers – Times of India, Hindustan Times – western press – New York Times , Washington Post, London Times, Wall Street Journal, Newsweek, Times, Economist, etc. has been carried out to understand the 1971-conundrum in a more comprehensive manner. By embracing an in-depth methodology we have attempted to provide a fresh and extensive narrative on the disastrous break-up of Pakistan.

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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIML All-India Muslim League

AIR All-India Radio

AL Awami League

BAKSAL Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League BJP Bharatiya Janta Party

BNP Bangladesh Nationalist Party

BRAC Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee BSF Indian Border Security Force

CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CM Chief Minister

CML Council Muslim League

CMLA Chief Martial Law Administrator

CSO Civil Society Organizations

CSP Central Civilian Services of Pakistan

DAC Democratic Action Committee

EBR East Bengal Regiment

EPR East Pakistan Rifles

FTA Foreign Trade Agreement

GHQ General Headquarters

HRW Human Rights Watch

IB Intelligence Bureau

ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ICFM Islamic Countries Foreign Ministers' Conference ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross ICT International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh ICTJ International Centre of Transitional Justice IDBP Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan IPKF Indian Peace Keeping Force

ISI Inter Services Intelligence

JIP Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan

JP Jatiya Party

JSD Jatiya Samajtanrik Dal

JUI Jamiat Ulema-i Islam

JUP Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan

LFO Legal Framework Order

LLTE Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

MP Member of Parliament

MPA Member of Provincial Assembly

NAP National Awami Party

NGOs Non-governmental organization

OIC Organisation of Islamic Cooperation

PDP People's Democratic Party

PM Prime Minister

PML Pakistan Muslim League

PPP Pakistan Peoples Party

RAAI Rabita Al-Alam-Al-Islam

RAW Research & Analysis Wing

RSS Rashtriva Swavamsevak Sangh

RTB Rabita Trust Board

SFF Special Frontier Force

SUF Sindh United Front

**UN United Nations** 

UNDP United Nations Development Programme UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

#### Organization

UNGA United Nations General Assembly

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNSC United Nations Security Council

UP Uttar Pradesh

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VHP Vishva Hindua Parishad

WHO World Health Organization

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ames Feibleman, the famous American philosopher, once said, *A myth is a religion in which no one any longer believes* but, when it comes to Bangladesh and its creation, it seems that the religion of mythology still exists and has a number of followers. Since the

surrender of Pakistani forces on 16 th December 1971, several accounts have been written, multiple narratives have been generated, various questions have been raised and a large number of personal memoirs of military men, politicians, intellectuals, and diplomats have been published. Many of the discourses on Bangladesh have an accusatory approach and only half of the picture is painted. Many have emerged with new sets of complaints and blame for a new reason to malign Pakistan, their favourite punching bag. Within a few breaths of the 1971 tragedy, Pakistan was blamed for causing starvation, deprivation, and by the end, killing and slaughter in East Pakistan. All these biased narratives are the product of greater myths.

A deliberate effort is always carried out to bypass facts like: the Indian security dilemma, Awami League and its fascist political policies, the terrorist group of Mukti Bahini, the propaganda campaign of the Indians and some global media outlets, the Indian diplomatic campaign at the global level, the political confrontation between West and East Pakistan, and the colonial legacy in terms of economic disparity. Albeit, the weakness of the Pakistani federal government in political, social, and economic terms, aforementioned facts cannot be overlooked and therefore the assessment, particularly regarding the violence prior to the creation of Bangladesh, remains too exaggerated. These exaggerated narratives accuse the Pakistani Armed Forces of gruesome massacre of innocent Bengalis giving a clean chit to Mukti Bahini and the Indian armed forces. Selfprompted narratives are generated to defame Pakistan and its military to protect the Indian-supported Mukti Bahini from their heinous crimes. It is now high time that a holistic view of Bangladesh's creation and its aftermath is presented. By utilizing primary sources, the present narrative tries to respond to some of the most commonly created myths by endeavouring to expose them based on facts and figures surrounding Bangladesh and its creation.

The most prevailing myths about the creation of Bangladesh are: West Pakistan exploited Sonar Bengal (East Pakistan). No development was carried out in East Pakistan. West Pakistanis imposed their culture on the Bengalis. The Agartala Conspiracy case was a fabrication of the West Pakistan. Operation Searchlight was launched by the West Pakistani establishment against the innocent civilians of East Pakistan.

Pakistani Armed Forces killed more than 3 million innocent Bengalis.

Pakistani Armed Forces exclusively targeted and killed the Hindus in East Pakistan.

Pakistan Army is solely responsible for all the violence in East Pakistan.

The Indian military intervention was a humanitarian intervention trying for a political solution.

The Indian military intervention was spontaneous and not planned.

Pakistani forces numbering 93,000 men surrendered to become Indian POWs.

Bengali women were raped by Pakistan Army personnel. India was not supported by international powers. The Pakistani backed Kashmiri Mujahideens hijacked the Indian Fokker Friendship aircraft on 30 January 1971.

There may be even more myths but the most common myths are cited above. The paragraphs below will investigate each myth separately.

#### West Pakistan Exploited The Sonar Bengal (East Pakistan)

The economic disparity had always remained the most effective propaganda tool for the so-called nationalists of the Awami League. The Bengalis were convinced to believe that Bengal was a 'Golden Bird' where streams of honey and milk had flowed. Through weaving such fictitious tales, the Awami League leadership lambasted West Pakistan for marginalizing East Pakistan. The believers and the brainwashed Bengalis remained unaware of the fact that the economic disparity between East Pakistan and West Pakistan was a historical legacy. In addition to this, the economic structure of rest of West Pakistan (other than Punjab): Balochistan, Sind and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) were not much different than East Pakistan. Further, it should also be noted that Punjab was much developed prior to the creation of Pakistan. As Rome was not built in a day the historical economic marginalization of East Pakistan could have not been eliminated in a short span of time. Moreover, nature in form of annual cyclones, floods, and particularly the cyclone of 1970, also had not been friendly in the case of East Pakistan which is another rationale of the economic disparity between West and East Pakistan. Also, the food supply in East Pakistan was never allowed to recover from the famine of 1943 by the fury of nature pushing East Pakistan into further economic despair. A detailed analysis of the economic disparity and the fabricated myth of the economic stagnation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan is discussed in Chapter 3.0 in detail.

#### No Development Was Carried Out In East Pakistan

Critics and historians blame that the development of East Pakistan was not planned by the western wing and, there was no attempt to address the plight of the unemployed Bengalis confronted with higher food prices, lesser income, and no development projects. The blames were put solely on the western wing's shoulder. On the contrary, it was the west wing that initiated the famous Bangladeshi Parliament Building during President Ayub's era in 1961. Also, the unemployed Bengalis were employed in large, capital-intensive jute mills set-up by West Pakistani industrialists like the *Crescent*, the *Isphani*, and the *Adamjee* jute mills, which between them had employed twenty-six thousand (26,000) workers. It should be noted that at Partition in 1947, West Bengal was a more developed region which had gone to India while East Bengal which became East Pakistan, did not have even a single jute mill. Raw jute was exported to India for value addition. The jute trade had flourished in East Pakistan solely owing to the West Pakistani investment in the jute industry. It was after Partition that investments were encouraged by the government through Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC), and the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) in East Pakistan. During President Ayub's 'industrialization period' half of the cabinet members including many secretaries were from East Pakistan ensuring equal representation for the decision of the allocation of development funds. The development of the Chittagong Port, the Chandragona Paper Mills, the Fenugange Fertiliser complex and the first Steel Mill of Pakistan; the construction of railway, road, airline, and river networks all took place by the help of the central government. The details of these are given in Chapter 4.

The price situation in East Pakistan had become adverse when the Hindu Marwaris greedily hoarded goods for greater profit (common in any economy) and the politically- motivated attempts of the 'Akhand Bharat' supporters. By 1971, East Pakistanis were involved and absorbed both in the civil administration and in the military. They enjoyed prestigious positions like serving as ambassadors and counsellors in both the governments, which they exploited on many occasions for personal gains betraying Pakistan. Sadly, it was East Pakistanis who prioritised themselves over Pakistan and not the other way around.

# West Pakistanis Imposed Their Culture On The Bengalis

The cultural imposition of the implementation of Urdu as a national language of West Pakistan over East Pakistan had been one of the grievances of the

Bengalis. It must, however, be understood that Urdu was not the language of any of the four regions of West Pakistan too. Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), like East Pakistan, all had their own languages. Urdu had been the lingua franca of the Muslims of India, and Pakistan had been created as a homeland for them, therefore, it was quite befitting that Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan. The weak political governments and political parties did not handle the situation well and the language controversy was allowed to grow out of proportion. The cultural imposition actually did not arise totally from the language issue; instead it may be looked in other areas also such as dress, music, and food. With delicate distinction between various issues, we may find that in reality it was an equal diffusion and exchange of cultures from both wings. There was a 'natural' cultural reciprocity between East and West Pakistan with no imposition from either side. The people of both East and West Pakistan were living happily until the seed of hatred under the umbrella of cultural imposition was planted by conspirators. In reality Bengali culture and artists, like Firdousi Begum, Shehnaz Begum, Alamgir, Shabnam and Runa Laila to name a few, were loved and embraced by West Pakistan before and also after the dismemberment of 1971. The families on both sides were intertwined with frequent intermarriages making hatred an impossible emotion to brew. Chapter 3 delves into this in detail.

#### The Agartala Conspiracy Case Was A fabrication Of The West Pakistanis

Another blame was that the Agartala Conspiracy case was a construct of the West Pakistani establishment. It has been blamed that West Pakistan wanted to frame Mujib as a traitor, by alleging in the conspiracy case that in February 1962 he along with other Awami League leaders met with Indian Intelligence officers to conspire for the dismemberment of Pakistan. The Agartala conspiracy had remained mysteriously a Pakistani construct until books like 'The Agartala Doctrine: A Proactive North-East in Indian Foreign Policy', and Indian intellectuals, military officers, and retired intelligence officers made revelations about its Indian roots and connections, which had to be delayed because the Indo-China war broke out.

The plot was first delayed due to the Indo-China war in 1962 and later due to the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. By 1967, Pakistani government became cognizant of this conspiracy resulting in the filing of the Agartala Conspiracy Case against thirty-five persons including Sheikh Mujib, on 12th July 1967, during President Ayub's government. It was, however, withdrawn in 1969 amidst immense political pressures. Since 1962, the Awami League leadership remained in close contact with the Indian Intelligence of which the leadership's (except for Mujib and Kamal Hussain) escape to India on 25th March 1971 is testament. Another fact available as evidence to support the conspiracy theory is the establishment of the Research & Analysis Wing (RAW) in 1971 to further Indian hegemony and to wage proxy wars between states like Tibet and China. The Special Frontier Force and Mukti Bahini experienced simultaneous births providing more fodder to the conspiracy theory. The Agartala Conspiracy had been hatched and implemented by the Awami Leaguers and Indian Intelligence with Pakistan bearing the burden of its blame proving that history sides with the victor. For further details see Chapter 4.

# Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman Was A National Liberator

It was propagandised all over the world that Mujib was the liberator of Bangladesh, whose people had been oppressed by the tyrannical government of Pakistan. Historically, Mujib was consistently using the election hustle in his favour and fanning agitation all over East Pakistan, generating volatile emotions benefitting no one. Mujib wanted to assume power and West Pakistan was not willing to lose it.

Mujib got his way by exploiting the funds given to him through Indian channels overshooting the other candidates who were using legitimate funds for campaigning. West Pakistan was reluctant to transfer power to Mujib because of his illicit, treason-like relationship with India and his involvement in the Agartala Conspiracy Case. Mujib was released from the Agartala Conspiracy Case because of political pressure from prominent politicians, most notably Bhutto. Mujib had been conspiring with India for the dismemberment of Pakistan and eventually in 1971 both parties succeeded.

After the dismemberment, Mujib became a 'National Liberator' who had never been in a battlefield in his whole life. In 1972, Mujib, India's puppet, signed a treaty of peace and friendship with India for twenty-five years. The Indian interests were well protected with Bangladesh playing puppet in its hands. India maintained its hegemony in the region with the treaty protecting its militaristic and hegemonic interests from any Bangladeshi opposition and protest.

Mujib assumed power in Bangladesh as the President, then Prime Minister, and then again President until his assassination on 15th August 1975. Mujib was murdered along with his family by the Indian-trained Mukti Bahinis, the *National Liberator's* soldiers. The Mujib-era saw rise in prices, smuggling, hoarding, corruption, and political killings.

The prices rose to 300 times higher than they were in East Pakistan. Smuggling was rampant due to corrupt politicians of Awami League who granted licenses to their friends and relatives, and hoarding had also become persistent, which caused the price hike of goods in Bangladesh only. Corruption levels remained greater than they were in West Pakistan. The Red Cross Chairman, who had been politically appointed, became famously known as the 'Kambal Chor'. Once it was quoted about Mujib, at the time he was the President of Bangladesh, he said, 'where is my Kambal'?' Two hundred thousand (200,000) people were displaced from Dacca, more than fifty thousand were sent to camps. The camps were more like concentration camps where people preferred to die than live. Two thousand people lost their lives in political killings because Mujib could not tolerate opposition. He amended the constitution for his own benefit, introducing the presidential form of government and Single Party Rule (BAKSAL). Mujib became the president of Bangladesh and also the head of BAKSAL — it was the old Awami League in a new garb. Mujib built the paramilitary forces to counter and suppress opposition and, in most cases, kill the opposition leaders. In the end, to add about the National Liberator, when he was a minister in East Pakistan, in 1950s, he had been accused of nepotism, handing out licenses to Awami Leaguers and misuse of funds while other Awami League ministers were also accused of corruption. For further details see Chapter 7.

#### Operation Searchlight Was Launched By T he West Pakistan's Establishment Against The Innocent Civilians Of East Pakistan

It was blamed that the Operation Searchlight had caused deaths of innocent civilians. It was alleged that the Operation Searchlight was the real cause behind the dismemberment of Pakistan, thus the culprits were the armed Pakistani soldiers who terrorized, killed, and raped innocent Bengalis. Unfortunately, such allegations are contrary to reality. The reality of the Operation Searchlight and its relevance unravelled when Yahya Khan postponed the National Assembly session in early March 1971. With this announcement Awami Leaguers took to the roads armed with 'daos' (meat-cleavers), sickles and sticks. The Awami Leaguers were armed, waiting for the announcement and started vandalism, arson, loot, and killings as an immediate aftermath of the announcement. From the National Assembly session postponement on 1<sup>st</sup> March till the start of the Operation Searchlight thousands of innocent people lost their lives, national flag was descerated every day, and jailbreaks occurred regularly all over the province. Contrary to popular belief the perpetrators of violence were the Bengali mobs, not the non-Bengalis (Bihari Muslims, West Pakistanis), with their ferociousness targeting the non-Bengalis. The Bengali mob mentality was exhibiting such savagery that the army was ordered to remain in their barracks resulting in attacks even on the American and British institutions. Throughout most of March, 1<sup>st</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup>, the situation was under Awami League's control and Mujib was issuing directives from his 32, Dhanmandi House. During these 25 days, the Bangladeshi flag was raised, firing practices ensued within Dacca University, barricades were erected throughout Dacca city, checkpoints of Awami Leaguers were erected near the airport to search people, and looting on Mujib's directive that 'No money should leave East-Pakistan' became a tragic reality. Mujib

and his Awami League were in no way willing to act in a civilized way by peacefully protesting for transfer of power. Due to this lawlessness, Operation Searchlight, a military, surgical operation was launched against the Awami League leadership and its terrorist supporters. The Operation had another vital objective, which was to disarm the Bengali armed forces, as it had become evident that Mujib's political agitation had reached deep within the Bengali Armed Force personnel.

With the start of the Operation, the Bengal regiments and the East Pakistan Regiments revolted. As a bloody display of their extreme abhorrence, the defecting Bengali soldiers before leaving their barracks killed their counterpart West Pakistani soldiers and their families like cowards in the dead of the night. The situation of Dacca University was the dismal desecration of its noble grounds, no longer the site of the subliminal cause of education, but serving as the training ground for terrorists defying human civilization's progress from medieval barbarity. The university environment no longer celebrated the sounds of students but cowered amidst the sounds of gunshots. Civility and order had 'indeed' been lost under the 'National Liberator'; guns had replaced the pens. The army personnel were fired from the university halls, under the illusion that trained terrorists resided there, proved from the relentless barrage of fire, army retaliated with full force and blood replaced ink on the university grounds. For atrocities and crimes of the Awami League, see Chapter 6.

# Pakistani Armed Forces Killed More Than 3 Million Innocent Bengalis and Raped 200,000 Bengali Women

Since the creation of Bangladesh it is propagated that the Pakistani Army: exclusively constituting of West Pakistani soldiers had killed 3 million Bengalis and raped 200,000 (two hundred thousand) Bengali women. Accordingly, the only reason for their genocide was their ethno-linguistic identity. Around the world people, including both Pakistanis and Indians, believe in this distorted version as propagated and intended by the Bangladeshi and Indian governments. The need is to investigate the highlyexaggerated figure of 3 million. The origin of the 3 million myth can be traced back to December 1971 when 'Pravda' the Soviet newspaper in its editorial of 23rd December 1971 entitled 'Enemy Occupation' reported that deaths in the war of 1971 is about 3 million. Soon this figure emerged in the Bangladeshi media and was widely disseminated in Bangladesh. This figure gained legitimacy after it was endorsed by Mujib in his interview with David Frost (a well-known British journalist) on 18th January 1972. Answering a query he asserted, "Three million people have been killed, including children, women, intellectuals, peasants, workers, students". Responding on the question regarding sources of such an assertion, he further remarked, "Before my coming, my people had started collecting the information. I have messages coming from all areas where I have a base. We have not finally concluded, it might be more, but definitely it will not be less than three million". Since then the figure given by Mujib remains unquestioned.

Several investigative accounts have rejected these evidentially unsupported claims of the Awami League government. Even the immediate government of the Awami League after the creation Bangladesh failed to prove its own generated myth of 3 million. Mujib formed an inquiry committee in January 1972 to meet the figure of 3 million but failed as the committee came with a figure not more than fifty thousand. Likewise the global media also denied the figure of three million. Further, the Bengali intellectuals like Sarmila Bose, Chowdhury Abdul Mumin and many others have also denied the accuracy of the 3 million figure. A detailed study of this myth is accessible in Chapter 7.

#### The Pakistani Armed Forces Exclusively Targeted And Killed Hindus In East Pakistan

It was blamed that the Pakistani Armed Forces specifically targeted and killed Hindus of East Pakistan as it was ordered to flush out the large Hindu population from the eastern province. In reality the Pakistan Army was only concerned about the terrorist Bahinis. The Pakistan Army made no discrimination between criminals on communal basis; its aim was to only obliterate the Mukti Bahinis irrespective of their religious beliefs. The renowned author Sarmila Bose writes in her book about the Pakistan Army saving the Hindu population from massacre, by the terrorist Awami Leaguers, not committing it. According to her accounts, in 1971 Hindus remained unhurt by the Pakistani Army migrating to India not because of the Pakistan Army's actions, but to secure themselves from the Mukti Bahini contrived persecution to satisfy their material greed and not communal strife. Hindu persecution alone is evidence of Mukti Bahini's not-so-noble intentions and actions.

# The Pakistan Army Is Solely Responsible For All The Violence In East Pakistan

It was blamed that *Pakistan Army is solely responsible for all violence*. All violence – rapes, arson, loots, and the massacres – were blamed on the Pakistan Army. They were accused of raping 200,000 women and killing three million people during the nine-month struggle for restoration of law and order. These facts and figures given by Mujib's government were exorbitantly embellished and have been contested by renowned Bengali authors like Sarmila Bose. A close examination of the facts reveals that the main perpetrators of these heinous crimes (committed from 1st March to 25th March and from 26th March to 16th December 1971) were the Awami Leaguers and the Mukti Bahinis. Thouands of horrifying cases of loot, arsons, rapes, murders and massacres were reported before 25th March. There are petrifying accounts of whole colonies burnt to ashes with inmates locked inside and burnt alive. The entire violence was targeted at the non-Bengalis – Biharis, foreigners, West Pakistanis, creating a merciless hell on earth forcing the Pakistan Army to initiate Operation Searchlight. It became clear after 25<sup>th</sup> March, that the trained Mukti Bahini terrorists are merciless and unremorseful killers, whose inhuman methods find little parallel in civilized human history. After 25<sup>th</sup> March, people – non-Bengalis, rarely Bengalis – were taken to buildings to be burnt alive in thousands and guillotined in jute mills, turning the river waters red, choked with rotting human corpses. Young women were subjected to gang rapes; the unlucky ones who survived were damned to endure numbed existences as sex slaves. The mantra of the rapists was simple, succumb to rape or be vandalised with throats slit and innards pulled out (eyes gouged and body flesh sliced) for an excruciatingly painful death. The pregnant women or their unborn babies were not spared either; their wombs were cut with unborn babies hoisted on bayonets as trophies of savagery. Humanity left the earth to cry on its own demise. These crimes, so nefarious that adjectives fail t

#### The Indian military intervention was a humanitarian intervention trying for a political solution

It was propagated that *Indian intervention was a humanitarian intervention and had tried for political solution*. This humanitarian intervention of India had been appreciated by thousands of people in different countries especially in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. Throughout the nine-month crisis India tried to persuade the world powers and Pakistan for a political solution. These efforts failed because Yahya was unwilling to talk with Mujib, the true leader of Bengalis, who had been imprisoned.

In the world of facts and truth, we would be surprised to find a less-heard narrative backed by strong facts that Indian intervention, in reality, was not humanitarian rather it was a vicious, planned attack on Pakistan's sovereignty. These plans were made with the consent of the Awami League leadership in an infamous meeting known as the Agartala Conspiracy. The Awami League leadership was in constant contact with the India's Research & Analysis Wing (R&AW) officers retreating, like mice in their burrows, during Operation Searchlight to their Indian base camp at Agartala. Yahya, very astutely, was reluctant

to conciliate with the Awami League because it simply meant handing over power and East Pakistan to the Indian p uppets. No sane man would contemplate a political solution with the opposition negotiating from the enemy's lap. Even if Yahya had naively parleyed with the Awami League it would have been a futile effort of expecting Indian interests to allow the existence of a united Pakistan. A fool's effort for a foolish dream. The Indian intervention was egotistical, and by no means humanitarian, to accomplish the creation of the vassal state of Bangladesh to grant India unchallengeable hegemony in the region. The Awami League leadership and the Mukti Bahinis were mere pawns in the 'grandmaster's golden plan'. For further details see Chapter 4.

#### The Indian Military Intervention Was Spontaneous And Not Planned

It was propagated that the *Indian military intervention was spontaneous and that it was the pre-emptive strikes that forced India into war against Pakistan*. India claimed that it only interfered when Pakistan's civil war reached its soil by the crossing of its borders by a hundred thousand refugees from East Pakistan and attacks on its airfields, leaving India no choice but to protect itself. This is the general narrative which has no relationship with the facts.

In reality, Pakistan attacked Indian airfields on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1971 after the war had begun while the refugees had gone to India as a consequence of the horrific atrocities perpetrated by Mukti Bahini and not because of the Pakistan Army. For further details see

Operation Searchlight started failing as the Mukti Bahinis swelled in number. A full-fledged civil war broke out in East Pakistan, with the Indian-trained Mukti Bahinis and Awami League workers destroying all hopes of restoration of law and order with their destruction of Pakistani forces' morale and infrastructure. The refugee crisis also made borders porous that were already inadequately protected by the thinly-dispersed forces of Pakistan.

The Pakistani forces were continuously ambushed by the Indian forces, Mukti Bahinis, and the special Frontier Force internally while the Tibetan guerrilla force raised by R&AW was constantly attacking border outposts. The Pakistani forces were confronted by this predicament from March till November 1971. November 1971 is most significant in history as the Indian hypocrisy domning the humanitarian garb was unveiled with its 100,000 Mukti Bahini forces launching attacks on army posts on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the month. The Pakistani forces were outgunned and outmanned; a single Corps of Pakistani troops were pitted against three Corps of Indian troops who were additionately supported by the 100,000 Mukti Bahinis, thus making Pakistani forces virtual sitting ducks.

The accumulation of three Corps, as opposed to a single Corps as in the past, around East Pakistan borders strengthened by Mukti Bahinis who adopted a more aggressive posture after the rebellion of the Bengali forces, screams of a planned intervention. India proved its shrewd military planning by the presence of three Corps and a Communication Zone before November 1971, with the Northern Borders Forces also directed towards East Pakistan in September/October, indicating that Indians were actually calculating a spontaneous Chinese intervention.

It should be noted that on  $3^{rd}$  December 1971 Pakistan had only opened the western front with the Indian forces intruding considerably inside East Pakistan with tanks and artilleries since November  $21^{st}$  / $22^{nd}$ . India had already occupied territories, destroyed Pakistani tanks, and fighter planes in November 1971 which all is testament that India's claim of spontaneity is a fallacy. The truth remains that India by the  $3^{rd}$  of December had entrenched itself firmly in some territories of East Pakistan guaranteeing it an upper hand over the Pakistani forces. If India had not achieved this, in the words of Indian Army Chief, Sam Manekshaw, it would have guaranteed 100 per cent defeat for the Indian forces.

Pakistani forces and civilians lost their air route due to the plane hijacker plot while the Indian forces laboured continuously raising their military capabilities, in a notably calculating manner. The Indian Army Chief, Sam Manekshaw, said in an interview that, 'I got the money, went to Soviet Union and bought the tanks', which in itself is a not-so-spontaneous act. For further details see Chapter 6.

# Ninety-Three Thousand (93,000) Pakistani Soldiers Surrendered And Became Indian POWs

The surrender did happen and there were soldiers who surrendered but their exaggerated, unreal, and untrue numbers were reported, published and propagated by the international newspapers. To this day the disproportionate number of 93,000 soldiers persists, sustained by the Indian, Bangladeshi and Soviet propaganda. The actual number according to General Niazi was 34,000 troops; Police, Rangers, Scouts and militia were 11,000 personnel, which made the total number of combatants or fighting troops to 45,000 only. Accordingly, the number of 93,000 as conjured by the Indians included the children, women, civil administration officials and staff, non-combatant army personnel – nurses, doctors, barbers, shoemakers – and others with the soldiers. For further details see Chapter 5.

# India Was Not supported By The International Powers

It is another myth that Soviet Union had only provided diplomatic support to India, and there was no militaristic involvement of Soviet Union. On the contrary, Soviet Union had sold modern tanks and aircrafts to India and a treaty was signed between them in August 1971. This treaty was made to threaten Pakistan, an ally of America, and succeeded in thwarting all Pakistani efforts at the United Nations after 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1971. America and China, two out of the five permanent members of the Security Council, were overruled by the Soviet vetoes in their attempts to help Pakistan through their ceasefire resolutions. One of the Soviet Union Representative, Molotov, at United Nations was so fond of vetoes that he was nicknamed, Mr. Veto; Mr. No. For further details see

Chinese and Americans were not willing to plunge into any war and were also advising Pakistan against it, but constant Indian attacks and aggression forced Pakistan to enter into the war without any military support of its powerful friends. When Indian forces with Soviet tanks and aircrafts were bombing and occupying territories in East Pakistan, Pakistan's international diplomatic support was vetoed by the Soviets.

#### The Pakistan Backed Kashmiri Mujahideen Hijacked the Indian Fokker Friendship Aircraft On 30th January 1971

It was said that this cannot be untrue that Pakistan had been helping Kashmir in its struggle against the Indian occupation. After independence when India sent its army in Kashmir, Jinnah as advised did not send regular army for help but the irregular Mujahideen (fighter) groups were sent as liberators in occupied Kashmir. In such a logical sequence we are obliged to accept that Pakistani backed Kashmiri Mujahedeen hijacked Indian Fokker Friendship aircraft on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1971. Enthusiastic crowds cheered the Mujahideen for their brave act at Lahore airport. Pakistan under international convention was obliged to arrest hijackers and found itself in a complicated situation to own or disown the Kashmir struggle. The hijackers were granted political asylum to ensure the safety of the passengers. The situation was almost under control, the aircraft crew and the passengers were safely evacuated and hijackers had to leave the Indian aircraft. At that point, hijackers did not comply with Pakistani authorities' orders, blowing up the aircraft. India blaming this on Pakistan suspended all air route communication between East and West Pakistan over its airspace. This isolated incident developed into the persistent myth that

Pakistan always supports Kashmiris in their struggle against India. In reality this was an Indian and Awami League concocted conspiracy against united Pakistan. This was an extremely successful manoeuvre as it completely isolated East Pakistan from West Pakistan, increasing air travel time from three hours to seven hours. This isolation helped Mujib's Awami League to terrorize civilians and declare independence at the next opportunity available since the Agartala Conspiracy. It was a pre-planned strategy of India to leave East Pakistan in complete control of Awami League, to declare independence. The Awami League leadership overconfident with India's support were caught by surprise by Operation Searchlight against its terrorists and fled to India.

Air route communication blockade was not enough for the dismemberment until Pakistan Army remained intact. Throughout the period of 1971, Pakistan Armed Forces lacked proper reinforcements, due to a single mishandled conspiracy of 'hijackers'. An investigation report presented on 15th April 1971 proved that the hijacking was an Indian devised plan and hijackers themselves were neither revolutionary nor interested in Kashmir issue. At that point it was too late to undo the mistake, but historically it is never too late to unveil the reality, burdened by biased Indian, Bangladeshi, and Soviet myth. For further details see Chapter 4.

#### **2 CREATION OF PAKISTAN Introduction**

#### P

akistan was a nation about which most Congress and Hindu leaders had thought that it would crumble under the weight of expectations and hardships. The timing and the terms of independence ensured that Pakistan had no infrastructure and no assets. To add to the misery of the newly-formed state, many important Muslim territories had been handed over to India or like the princely states were taken over by India through force. Yet, defying all odds Pakistan survives to this day.

Before independence, the Muslims constituted a large minority in a Hindu majority British India. The Hindus conditioned and consumed by religious propaganda and Hindu revivalist sentiments plotted incessantly to eliminate the Muslims, either by killing them or by converting them. One can garner evidence of this from the activities of the current religious right-wing parties of contemporary India like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, Vishva Hindua Parishad (VHP), etc.

The RSS is the ideology guider of the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) and has been deemed responsible for bloody events like the Gujarat massacres in the so-called modern democratic India. Regretfully, the Hindu radical BJP is now the largest party in India in terms of membership and electoral votes.

During their rule the British were largely indifferent if not hostile in their attitude towards Muslims, the previous rulers of India for a thousand years. Remaining true to colonial traditions the British had their own interests at heart, rendered no importance to the protection of the Muslims. Rather they favoured the Hindus and the Indian National Congress as they had greater control over the larger proportion of the populace of British India. Their policies reflected this attitude, of which history is testament.

The activities of the Muslim Ulema in British India worsened the already precarious Muslim predicament. They were a class of Muslimelite scholars, who had been gaining momentum over the last number of decades in pre-Partition India. Succinctly, they had been against the Pakistan movement and the idea of Pakistan from inception. Their version of Islam deemed the Pakistan movement 'heretical' and its propagators 'kafirs' (non-believers).

As history tells us that the creation of Pakistan always seemed like a far-fetched dream. There were so many powers and elements against it, that its creation is no less than a miracle in itself. The purpose of this chapter is not to highlight the freedom movements, but it is to highlight that from the moment the idea of Pakistan was conceived, it faced impossible odds which led to its dismemberment in 1971 and continue to threaten its existence even today.

# Hindu Revivalist Movements and the Far Right Agenda

Hindu activism took an ugly turn soon after the apogee of the Hindu-Muslim unity in the Khilafat Movement days of the early 1920s, and continued to grow until 1947, resulting in Partition. It is generally considered that the British Raj had a hand in developing the Hindu-Muslim divide, which we discuss in the next section, but this necessarily has not been the case. Both Congress and the Muslim League were actually British-sponsored parties since their inception. But the Hindu extremists who had crept into the mainstream politics of British India, with the help of the Congress, did all what they could to suppress the Muslims.

It was Dayananda Sarswati, a Hindu religious leader, who established the revivalist Arya Samaj in 1875. His ideas were based on re-establishing and reviving the ancient Hindu civilization of the Vedic period. Dayananda Sarswati was also responsible for devising the 'Shuddhi', the practice of converting all non-Hindus to the Hindu faith and the 'Guaraksha Sabha', a society for the protection of the cow. The Arya Samaj movement rubbed salt into Muslims, wounds by demanding Muslims to either embrace Hinduism or quit India. The agitation of some Muslims for independence was a reaction to and a consequence of the Hindu suppression and not a sudden and mere desire for a separate homeland. It was simply a plea for freedom from the Hindu hatred and extremism to exercise their human right of practicing their religion without fear.

# $^{\rm 1}$ Cambridge History of India, pp 540 $^{\rm 2}$ Duni Chand, The Ulster of India, 1936, p18

In 1882, the 'Vande Matram', an anthem adopted from Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's 1882 novel Anandamath, inspiring Hindunationalistic sentiments with Muslim-Hindu hostility at its core, was popularised. It was later adopted as the national anthem of the Hindus of India by the Congress, as a clear corroboration of Hindu antagonism towards the Muslims.3

Even in 1905, people recognized that Hindu nationalism was driving the Muslims away. Rabindranath Tagore thought that the communal strife in India was due to the religion dominated Hindu nationalism. He commented on the anti-partition agitation in 1905,

"When our speakers failed in Mymensingh and other areas to win the heart of the Mussulman peasantry, they felt very indignant. They never thought for a moment that we have never given proof of our real interest in the welfare of the Mussulmans or of the common people of our country. We cannot, therefore, blame them if they are rather suspicious of our professions of goodwill."

The feelings of some Arya Samaj leaders towards the Muslims were so hostile that Bhai Parmanand, an Arya Samaj leader of Punjab wrote in 1912 only seven years after Tagore's sympathetic statement about the Muslim peasantry of Bengal, that the Muslims of India could have their homeland on the other side of the River Indus. He thought that the solution lay in either the Hindus assimilating the entire Muslim population of the subcontinent or being eventually

assimilated by the alien intruders. He said:

"It stuck me a long time ago that the only satisfactory avenue to unity is to effect complete severance between the two peoples. India could be partitioned in such a manner as to secure the supremacy of Islam in one zone and that of Hindustan in the other." <sup>5</sup>

Another prominent figure in establishing Hindu revivalist movements was the fire-eating Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Tilak became the leader of the people and popularised movements such as the Shivaji cult which had an anti-Muslim agenda. He categorized the Muslims as *malechas* (impure) and foreigners. He formed a close alliance with many Indian National Congress leaders including Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghose, and V. O. Chidambaram Pillai.

- <sup>3</sup> F.K. Khan Durrani, The Meaning of Pakistan, 1944, p. 56-61
- <sup>4</sup> Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Young Tagore, Bombay, 1945, p. 25
- <sup>5</sup> K.K. Aziz, A History of the Idea of Pakistan Vol I, Vanguard, 1987. Lahore, p. 46

In 1906 when the Muslim League was established in Dacca to secure separate representation, a parallel body was established by Hindus under the name of the Hindu Mahasabha with the objective of 'watching and safeguarding the interests of the entire Hindu community in all respects'. Soon after the end of the Khilafat Movement in 1922, the cooperation between the Hindus and the Muslims came to an end and the anti-Muslim agenda re-emerged with a renewed intensity.

In 1922 the Hindu Mahasabha was reorganized and the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh (RSS), the militant wing of the Mahasabha was launched in 1925. The RSS worked inconspicuously and in great secrecy to help the Mahasabha establish an 'unadulterated' Hindu Raj in British India. This 'pure' Hindu Raj was idealized to be unencumbered by Muslims, Christians, or the Parsi's.

Shuddhi and Sangtan had a disquieting effect on the Muslims of the British India in the 1920s. Also creating ripple effects on the quiet surface of the political scenario were the Arya Samaj and the other Hindu movements in Bengal and Bombay provinces espousing the division of India into Hindu and Muslim zones. The Muslim religious parties such as the Ahrars, Allama Mashriqi's Khaksar movement, and Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi's lieutenants arraigned themselves against Arya Samaj's threat of extermination of the weaker sections of the Muslim community. In fact, the Arya Samaj and other factions of the Hindu revivalism compelled even the hitherto politically languid segments of Muslims to demand the preservation of their religious and cultural identity in this hostile environment.

*Hindutva* has been the most potent feature of the Hindu mindset right from its origin. The Hindus being an economically stronger community and more receptive to modern ideas were backed by the British Raj allowing them to openly oppose every Muslim effort to flourish. In fact, any British reprieve for Muslims was thwarted by the Hindu leaders' remonstrations amidst the Muslim-favouring British attitude claims.

<sup>7</sup>T.Walter Wallbank, A Short History of India and Pakistan, p.183 Hindu Nationalism & the Congress Rule

The period between 1920 and 1930 witnessed a series of wellplanned riots by the Hindus, all in the hope of building support for its militant wings. According to estimates, some 450 people were killed and another 5,000 injured between 1923 and 1927 in HinduMuslim riots.8 More than hundred riots took place over the course of the next three years causing 300 persons to lose their lives. In Bengal only about 35,000 women were kidnapped between 1922 and 1927. In Cawnpore more than 300 were massacred in 1931. Bombay experienced the annihilation of around 560 between 1929 and 1938. In almost all riots the bloodshed was predominantly of Muslims.9

During this period the Muslim League made repeated but failed efforts for uniting Hindus and Muslims to work towards common goals. In 1916, the Muslim League and Congress met each other at Lucknow, and unanimously agreed to a reforms scheme that could lead to self-governance in the future. This was the first time that the Congress had recognized the Muslim League as the representative party of Muslims. Congress' acknowledgment of the Muslim League granted its leaders the provision of separate electorates for Muslims and an agreement that the Congress would support no law that supressed the religious identity of the Muslims. This agreement between the Muslim League and Congress came to be known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Subsequently, the Muslims secured more seats than their ratio of population in the Centre and minority provinces, but relatively less in Punjab and Bengal consequently affecting their majority status. This paved the way for the HinduMuslim cooperation during the Khilafat Movement days as well.10

The rise of the Hindu nationalism ran parallel to the ascension of Congress with its elements thoroughly penetrating the Congress ranks and files by the late 1920s. The presence of the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS leaders in the Congress is an attestation of this as well as Congress' renegation on all concessions it had promised the Muslims in the Lucknow Pact of 1916.

This rise of Hindu nationalism was also instrumental in the failure of the Round Table Conferences of 1931, 1932, and 1933. In one of the conferences the Hindu Mahasabha had replaced the Congress completely, owing to the latter's boycott. In others, the callous Mahasabha leaders in the Congress did not give any consideration to the Muslim Leaguers and their concerns about the communal problems in India.

After the comprehensive win of provincial eletions of winter of 1936-37, the Congress refused to recognize the existence of any communal problems in India. There was no question of them cooperating with the Muslim League as it would go against their stand of complete Hindu domination. A stand that boasted of the Hindu raj having been successfully established in India. This led to the newly-formed Congress Ministries to adopt measures detrimental to Muslims. For example, the hoisting of the Congress flag on all public offices, the recitation of the Vande Matram with its supplication to the Goddess Kali becoming mandatory for all official workers and students at schools, the banning of the slaughtering of cows and selling of beef and the forcing of Muslim students to worship the idol of Saraswati and Gandhi's image on his birthday. The C.P. Government passed the Cow Protection Bill that imposed heavy restrictions on the slaughtering of cows, even on religious occasions like the Eid al-Adha.

Urdu, the language of the Muslim culture, was discouraged and removed as Hindi became the medium of instruction. A scheme that Gandhi had drawn up of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Valentine Chirol, Indian Unrest, London, 1910, p.44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, London 1930, p. 40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> B.R. Ambedkar, Pakistan or Partition of India, Bombay 1945, p. 162-176

 $<sup>^{10} \</sup> Encyclopedia \ Britannica \ Online, s.\ v.\ "Lucknow\ Pact", accessed\ July\ 14,2016, \\ https://www.britannica.com/event/Lucknow-Pact.$ 

primary education, popularly known as the 'Wardha Scheme', was introduced and implemented by the Congress Ministries in their respective provinces. This scheme was another instance of the fundamental clash of national ideals between Hindus and Muslims. Its idea was to convert Muslims into Hindus through the primary educational literature. The intention was to propagate Hindu ideas conflicting with the Muslim identity under the cover of the new education policies. The projection of Hindu heroes like Gandhi and distortion of the Muslim history became their moral creed which distorted Muslim history and identity casting a shadow of Hindu nationalism all over British India.

Apart from the cultural attack on the Muslims, systematic persecution of the Muslims was also taking place. During 1937-39, as many as 72 riots took place in Bihar, another 33 in U.P. and a large number in C.P. <sup>11</sup> Incidents like Muslim butchers being assaulted, pigs being thrown into mosques, and Muslim prayers being interrupted with songs of Hindu nationalism became commonplace. Muslims were persecuted for practising their religion freely at every turn. In certain localities in the Central Provinces, Muslim households were set on fire and their women molested or abducted. In one instance, the entire Muslim male population (about one hundred and fifty men) of a village was collectively accused of murder, summoned to the police station, kept without food and water, tortured during inquiry, subsequently found innocent and acquitted by the court.

In different towns in the U.P., the Muslims 'voluntarily' consented to music being played before mosques at the prayer hour and abandoned cow slaughter in deference to the Hindu religious feelings. These agreements appeared to be docile Hindu-Muslim settlement of long-standing disputes, but in fact they were achieved by threats. <sup>12</sup>

The policy of the Congress government was inspired by its ambition of the Hindu domination of the Muslim minority, thereby forcing them to recognize their superiority. When the Muslims resented against injustices and discriminatory treatment at the hands of the Hindus they were bullied and in many instances rioting and disorderly atmosphere was created.

#### As remarked by Coupland:

"the worst and most dangerous cause of disorder was, as it had always been, communal strife. The barometer of rioting and fighting, which had stood so steady

for some years past, began to fall again. When the Congress ministries resigned in

the autumn of 1939, there had been 57 communal outbreaks in their provinces

and more than 1700 casualties of which over 130 had been fatal...By the end of

1939, it was widely believed that, if the Congress Government had lasted much

longer, communal fighting would have broken out on an unprecedented scale. "13 Another incident of the Congress high-handedness against the Muslims that serves to evince this narrative follows. In a small village,

called Chandur Biswas with a tiny Muslim population in the old

Central Province of India, there lived a man Jagdees, who was

notorious for his anti-Muslim activities and writings. Once he took out a procession playing music and shouting anti-Muslim slogans before a mosque at the time of prayer. The Muslim worshippers protested and in the melee that followed many Muslims and Hindus were injured. Jagdees succumbed to his injuries a few hours later. The Premier of C.P., Mr. Sukla, visited the village and made an irresponsible speech charging the Muslims with conspiracy. Under his orders the entire adult, male Muslim population totalling 157 persons were arrested for the alleged murder of one Hindu. In the hot weather they were locked up in a small room. The Sessions

Judge, Mr. Clarke referring to this lock-up remarked:

"This is more suggestive of the conditions in Nazi Germany at the present

time than in any enlightened portion of the British Empire." 14

A Muslim villager in Tikori, Bihar had purchased some beef to

entertain his friends on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter.

Suddenly the Hindus accused him of having killed a calf belonging to

a Hindu villager. In spite of the Muslim villager's protest and

although the butcher testified that they had purchased the beef from

him, the Hindus attacked him and his guests tying their limbs to their

necks. Then the Hindus brought a pig from the house of a Harijan

and rubbed the beast's mouth against the mouth of the Muslims,

saying: 'this is the revenge of your eating beef'.

The Hindus entered the zenana, ripped the clothes of the Muslim

women, assaulted and dishonoured them 15

These cases show that under the Congress rule the 'law of

civilization' ceased to rule and the 'law of the jungle' prevailed as far

as the Muslims were concerned.

Commenting on the Congress treatment of the Muslims of Bihar,

Lt Gen Sir Francis Tuker in his book While Memory Serves remarked: "During October and November, in Bihar...great mobs of Hindus turned suddenly, but with every preparation for the deed, upon the few Muslims who had

lived and whose forefathers had lived, in amity and trust all their lives, among

these very Hindu neighbours...The number of Muslim dead men, women, and

children, in this short, savage killing was about seven thousand to eight thousand.

In the United Provinces even pregnant women were ripped up, their unborn babies

torn out and the infants' brains dashed out on walls and on the ground. There was rape, and women and children were seized by the legs by burly friends and

torn apart."16

The Muslims were provoked and oppressed; if they resisted, they

were subjected to lathi charge, firing, and arrest; if they protested

against injustice and high-handedness, they were accused of fanning

communalism and dubbed as 'communalists' and reactionaries. All of this served to increase the feelings of discontent amongst

the Muslims and their distrust of the Congress. Jinnah contended, "On the threshold of what little power is given, the majority community have clearly shown its hand that Hindustan is for Hindus."

He even accused the Congressmen of, 'behaving and acting towards the Mussulmans in a much worse manner than the British did towards the Indians' <sup>17</sup>

The behaviour of the Congress during 1937-39 foretold of what was to happen in an undivided All-India Federation. When the rule finally ended on  $22^{nd}$  December 1939, it was celebrated by all Muslims as the 'Day of Deliverance'. Any illusion that the Muslims were under for creating a United India had been truly shattered by the Congress rule. Finally in 1940, the first concrete step was taken for the establishment of a separate Muslim majority state, i.e. Pakistan which was by nature a response to the growing Hindu nationalism agenda and militancy.

- 11 Sir Reginald Coupland, India: A Re-statement, London, 1945, p.187
- 12 Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separatism in India, Lahore, 1967, p. 222.
- 13 Sir Reginald Coupland, *India: A Re-statement*, London, 1945
- 14 Ahmad, Jamiluddin, The Indian Constitutional Tangle, Lahore 1941, p261
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid, p 194

Elections of 1946 and the Aftermath

The British government dutifully tried to keep India united. The Cripps Plan of 1942 and the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 were both British efforts to bring about a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League. But the Congress was adamant in not giving the Muslims any share in governance. It was not even prepared to concede Muslims the benefit of the grouping and limited-centre provisions which, under the Cabinet Mission Plan, would have given them autonomy in their majority areas.

On 21st August 1945, Lord Wavell announced the holding of elections the next year. The Muslim League captured all the 30 Muslim seats in the Central Legislature and 428 out of a total of 492 Muslim seats in the Provincial Legislatures. Amazingly, even after the election results the Hindu leadership was reluctant to accept the League's superior standing which had then been clearly established. The Congress leaders still castigated the League as a reactionary and medieval entity, regretting the reverses of nationalist Muslims.

<sup>16</sup> Aziz Ahmed, *Discovery of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1964, p.341 <sup>17</sup> Speeches and Writings of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, p.28

The Congress leader, Nehru, did not accept the elections as decisive, complaining that the Muslims swayed by a religious hysteria, did not realize the full consequences of their voting preferences. This was contrary to reality as the Muslim community was cognizant of the momentousness of these election results. In this electoral victory lay their religious, economic, cultural and political salvation, which the Muslims yearned for with utmost fervour and zeal.

The Congress, had full support of the rightist elements, and other anti-Muslim League parties could not prove her worth at large and neither the gold nor the money of the Birlas and the Dalmias could sway the Muslims from their demand for Pakistan.

The echo of the elections had not yet dwindled when another gruesome episode of a Hindu-Muslim conflict resulted in violent communal riots in Bihar. A large number of Muslims became victims to the inhuman atrocities and barbaric treatment of the Hindus. As reported by Mahbub Waris, then Joint Secretary of the Bihar Muslim League,

"Not a single Muslim was left alive in an area of 300 square miles Ponpoon to Teregna in Bihar. Dead bodies were lying everywhere, railway platforms were littered with them." 18

The Development Minster of Bihar reflected the attitude of the Congress Party when he refused to furnish any help to Muslims by saying,

"I cannot do anything to protect the lives of Muslims. I can give you no help." 19

Much of the butchery of the hopelessly outnumbered Muslims bore every sign of careful prior planning, the first to several such abominations to occur during the 12-month period. The casualties were colossal. A rough preliminary military estimate at the time put the injuried as well as the dead at 5,000. According to a subsequent statement in the British Parliament, the death toll only amounted to 5,000. While the Statesman's estimate was between 7,500 and 10,000, the Congress party admitted to 2,000 and Mr Jinnah claimed about 30,000.

It was riveting that great mobs of Hindus had turned up suddenly, but with every preparation to kill, upon the few Muslims who had lived in trust all their lives among these very Hindu neighbours. It has never been ascertained who was the organizing brain of this well-laid, widely-planned plot of extirpation of Muslims, but the blame can be laid on the doorstep of the Congress and the Hindu Revivalist Parties.

It was clear that everything transpired as per a fixed plan and schedule. Had it not been so, such large mobs fully-armed with weapons, would never have collected in time and moved with such obvious, fiendish intent from victim to victim.<sup>21</sup>

The Bihar calamity was decisive in its effects on the Partition controversy. After such a carnage bearing obvious signs of merciless, meticulous planning, possibilities of getting India's Hindu and Muslim populations to live together harmoniously under a single, independent, post-British government shrank to zero. The atrocities of the Hindus did not end here. The atrocities continued and only after a few days of the Bihar calamity, there occurred the horrible rural slaughter at Garmukteswar in U.P. where Hindu pilgrims, at the annual religious fair set upon and exterminated Muslims, not only on the festival grounds but in the adjacent town. The dead were estimated to be 1,000 to 2,000. The U.P. Ministry succeeded in wrapping a heavy blanket of silence on the bloody episode. And then there were the cities, particularly Calcutta, in for twelve months scarcely a day passed without 'incidents', from obscure stabbings and burnings in lanes and alleys to bombings and gunning's in the main streets.<sup>22</sup>

Woodruff, who was a District Officer in the UP, describes his experience in the following words,

"...In ordinary communal trouble there was usually some point of focus, a mosque or temple, or a pipal tree. In a city, main thoroughfares could be patrolled. But this was unaccountable; no one could foretell where it would come next. In a village where Hindus and Muslims had lived for centuries, sudden fear would blaze up, and the weaker would be slaughtered with every kind of barbarity, babies being killed before their mothers' eyes, women and children burnt in their huts." <sup>23</sup>

After the elections, the Provincial ministries were formed. The Muslim League ministries took office in Bengal and Sind, but the North-West Frontier Province had a Congress Ministry. In Punjab the Congress entered into a coalition with a handful of Unionists and Akali Sikhs to strengthen the anti-League front, although the Muslim League Party constituted the largest single group in the legislature and included over 85 per cent of Muslim legislators.

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<sup>18</sup> The Eastern Times, Lahore, November 7, 1946
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The Great Calcutta Killings

In response to the League's declaration of 'Direct Action Day' titles and honours conferred by the British government were renounced by the Muslims to express their resentment and a fullfledged countrywide strike was observed on 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946. These took place peacefully except in Calcutta where ferocious HinduMuslim riots occurred.

To fathom the Great Calcutta killings, it is important to review it in its context. In the 1946 elections, the Muslim League celebrated a 100 per cent victory. A few days later, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, an influential Congress leader threatened the Muslims in a public speech,

"If Pakistan is to be achieved, Hindu and Muslims will have to fight. There will be civil war..."24 In mid-1946, Gandhi wrote,

"We are not yet in the midst of civil war. But we are nearing it. At present we are playing at it." <sup>25</sup>

What happened in Calcutta was utterly appalling. This was something unique, as a local commentator aptly termed a 'new order in disorder'. It was not an anti-western riot but a communal one, of an intensity, size, and savageness that no one had imagined possible.

# According to Ian Stephens' account,

"At the end of three dreadful days, corpses bestrewed the town. Borne everywhere on the warm moisture monsoon breeze came the stink of human

putrefaction. In Shampuker and similar squalid outlying parts, on plots of waste ground, you could see mounds of decomposing, liquefying bodies, heaped as high as the second floors of the nearby houses because of lack of space elsewhere. A visit to the police morgue necessitated use of respirator; unremoved rotting cadavers were stacked to the ceiling. If you wished to watch how a vulture opened up a dead man's abdomen, you could see it on the pavements of wealthy park street...We had seen more horrors than most modern soldiers ever do on the battlefield...About 100,000 people were rendered homeless, mainly by arson. So great was the confusion that all possibility of a detailed numbering of the dead and injured was ruled out.

...Even perhaps during the first days fighting, and certainly during the second and third, Muslim losses were the worst. Apparently local Hindu organizations, hearing rumours that some sort of Muslim attack was contemplated, had made up formidable counter-preparations. But what may decisively have tipped the scales was not the massive retaliatory Hindu onslaughts but the intervention during the second afternoon of the Sikhs, who had in the main held aloof on 16th August."<sup>26</sup>

- <sup>23</sup> Ibid, p 138
- <sup>24</sup> Deccan Times (Madras), 20<sup>th</sup> January 1946
- $^{\rm 25}$  E.W.R Lumby, The Transfer of Power in India 1945-47, p.118

Partition and the Ensuing Massacres

Meanwhile the partition of the subcontinent was looming large over the Indian horizon. In February 1947, the Prime Minister of Britain, Lord Attlee had made a historic statement in the House of Commons with regard to the intention of the British government to transfer of power to India by June 1948.

Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy of India, arrived in Delhi on 22nd March 1947 and soon after his arrival started to consult the leaders of different political parties. After long negotiations and discussions a plan was prepared which was approved towards the end of May by the British Cabinet. The Plan was published on 3rd June and this came to be known as the '3rd June Plan'.

It laid down the procedure of transfer of power in detail and the Viceroy, in a Press Conference on the following day, announced that the transfer of power would take place by 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

It was after this announcement that communal tension increased enormously. Violence, plunder, abduction, and stabbing were rampant in the eastern districts of Punjab. Muslims lacked security of life and property. Muslims started migrating to Pakistan on a large scale but were massacred on the way. Those who survived related horror stories of children being cut, women being dishonoured, and men being butchered into countless pieces. The atrocities against Muslims were such that grass changed its colour to red.

Human history is shamed to have witnessed young Muslim girls' rapes ending in a butchering finale to grant them mercy from the burden of life. Streets, roads, and highways were home to rotting corpses with suffocating stench pervading the air.

The rivers, canals, and sewers ebbed forward with their share of dead bodies and when the nature choked of their burden, or the bodies were sent to Pakistan piled high in trains. Several trains transported the dead bodies of Muslim refugees to Lahore. According to a contemporary British account:

"The scale of killings and movements of refugees became eve n more extensive than those caused by the more formal conflicts of opposing armies." <sup>27</sup>

Another eyewitness Captain Glue of Royal Sappers and Miners recorded:

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 20}$  Ian Stephens, Pakistan, Old Country/New Nation, 1964, p.135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.136

"I have served in France during the World War II and I did not see the destruction to the extent, which I have seen in Amritsar." <sup>28</sup>

Around the beginning of August 1947, the Sikhs and Hindus began attacking the Muslim inhabitants of central Punjab. Systematic attacks were being made on Muslim villages by roving bands of Sikhs, usually on horseback and operating under military-like discipline. Gangs of Sikhs led by ex-soldiers and armed with automatic guns, rifles, and bombs were roaming the countryside, attacking and burning villages, and massacring their inhabitants. It was estimated that, in the Amritsar district alone, nearly 1,000 people were killed during the first fortnight of August and most of them were Muslims. <sup>29</sup>

The truth is that, despite all the warnings, leading public figures in Delhi failed to grasp the significance of the news gruesomely pouring in from central Punjab. The Sikh war of revenge, so long foretold, had begun, and in which the 169 helpless (sic) Punjab Boundary Force, belatedly formed, proved incapable of dealing with, despite all its discipline and gallantry—a fact necessitating its disbandment within a month. Like the great Calcutta killing of nearly a year before, what was happening proved once again to be a 'new order in disorder'.

The new wave of riots involved the whole Punjab including its princely states; tracts also of Western UP, of Southern Kashmir, and of North-Western Frontier Province. When it reached Delhi, it came within a hair of plunging the whole subcontinent irretrievably in confusion. It brought death to hundreds of thousands, and set in motion millions of refugees. It was into conditions such as these about nine weeks after the decision on 3rd June 1947 that Pakistan was born on 14th August 1947.30

Ian Morrison, a correspondent of *The Times*, informing about the barbaric incidents that occurred in East Punjab in only three weeks cabled the following report:

"More horrible than anything we saw during that war, is the universal comment of experienced officers, British and Indian, on the present slaughter in East Punjab. The Sikhs are clearing East Punjab of Muslims, burning Muslim villages and homesteads, even in their frenzy burning their own. This violence has been organized from the highest levels of Sikh leadership, and it is being done systematically, sector by sector. Some large towns, like Amritsar and Jullundhur, are now quiet, because, there are no Muslims left. In a two hours air reconnaissance of the Jullundhur district at the weekend I must have seen 50 villages aflame.

The Sikh jathas, armed mobs from 50 to 100 strong, assemble usually in the gurdwaras, their places of worship, before making a series of raids. Many jathas cross over from the Sikh (princely) states. The Muslims are usually armed only with staves. When threatened, they assemble on their roofs and beat gongs and drums to summon help from neighbouring Muslim communities, and prepare to throw stones at the attackers. The Sikh attack scientifically. A first wave armed with firearms to bring the Muslims off their roofs. A second wave lobs grenades over the walls. In the ensuing confusion a third wave goes in with kirpans—the Sikh sabers, which are also religious emblems—and spears, and the serious killing begins. A last wave consist of older men, often army pensioners with long white beards, who carry torches and specialize in arson. Mounted out riders with kirpans cut down those trying to flee.

British officers have seen jathas that have included women and even children with spears. Appalling atrocities have been committed; bodies have been mutilated; none had been spared, men, women, or children. In one village, out of fifty corpses, thirty were those of women. One officer found four bodies roasted to death over a fire."<sup>31</sup>

The panic-stricken process of migration from other parts of India to what was now Pakistan began at a tremendous rate in the third week of August of 1947. An innumerable number of Muslims accompanying the Muslim convoys on foot were brutally slain by the organized Hindu-Sikh jathas. Planned attacks were made on refugee trains which 'became a horrible specialty of the whole affair, and continued far into the autumn'.

One such incident of train outrage as outlined by Colonel Sher Khan, later Major General of the Pakistan Army goes as follows.

"On 22nd September I left Lahore, after a meeting, for Amritsar, and arrived in the area of the Khalsa (Sikh) College at 16.20 hours. There were very big crowds with spears and swords, and more to the south of the road. There was firing going on. I stopped near a Garhwal Regiment post in the Khalsa College; here I was told a train was being attacked...The following morning I went to the station, where the train had been pulled in during the night...I talked to some survivors. They said they were refugees from Alwar State, and were put on the train at Delhi. Most of their belongings were taken away at Delhi Station. They were asked to surrender sharp weapons at Ambala. Some who had knives did so. They were fired at near Beas. An attack by about 100 Sikhs two or three stations on other side of Amritsar, the train slowed down, then stopped. Soon after, heavy firing started from both sides. Then hundreds of Sikhs rushed towards the train. They first started collecting valuables of the women, and throwing out boxes. Anyone resisting was killed by sword, kirpan, spear. Then started pulling out women, saying come with us, those resisting being killed. Having done all the looting, they started killing. There was some firing from the train, presumably from the escort, but it died down. Several bombs were thrown into the carriages. ...It is impossible to estimate the number of dead, as they were piled on top of each other in the compartments...Altogether, forty lorries were sent to Lahore loaded with wounded, including about 200 persons who had escaped serious injuries. The train pulled out of Amritsar towards Jullundhur."

In the midst of these agonizing atrocities, Pakistan came into being. The Congress on its part was unwilling to provide protection to the Muslims in India. The following is the utterance of one of the Chief Ministers of the Congress, about the Muslims left in India,

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^{\rm 27} Campbell-Johnson, Alan, \it Mission~with~Mount batten , London, 1972, p. 143
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Lala Lajpal Rai, an arch Marxist who propounded the theory that India was the original home of the Aryans and that it was wrong to think that their place of origin was the territory alongside Ural in Central Asia, was for Indianizing the Aryans. In his article published in the Tribune of 14th December 1924, he wrote that the demand for, or a continuation of separate representation for Muslims based on separate electorates was completely inconsistent with Indian nationalism and a united India. He suggested that the Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, the western Punjab with a large Muslim majority to be the Muslim-governed province, and eastern Punjab with a large Hindu-Sikh majority to be the non-Muslimgoverned province. On Bengal he held his judgment. To him it was 'unimaginable' that the rich and highly progressive and alive Hindus of Bengal could ever agree to work with the Bengali Muslims under the Das Pact. He further said:

"Under my scheme the Muslims will have four Muslim states (1) the Pathan Province & NWFP (2) Western Province (3) Sindhi and (4) Eastern Bengal. It means a clear cut partition of India with a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India".34

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 28}$  Khalid Ghaznawi, The Story of Indian Aggression Against Pakistan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ian Stephens, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.220

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid, p 222-223

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid, p 222-223

<sup>&</sup>quot;could not expect to be treated otherwise than as aliens. They would have no citizenship rights." "33 Hindu Revivalism & Its Continuation

This is the exact same partition plan that was implemented in 1947. All the blame on the partition of India has been laid on the feet of the Muslims. But the Hindutva leaders of the time were very much responsible for the creation of Pakistan, maybe even more so than anybody else.

The Indo-Pakistan relations after the Partition are another proof of the Hindus' disdain for Muslims. The Muslims who remained behind in India owing to one reason or the other are still regarded as bitter enemies of the Hindus. There is a long-drawn list of multitudinous communal riots in India which have occurred since the birth of Pakistan, in which the Muslims have been and are still being treated as Malechch and bitter rivals. The consequences of which were what the world witnessed during the bloodbath of Ahmedabad and in many other parts of India led by Hindu right wing parties like the RSS and BJP.

# Role Of The Islamic Parties & The Ulema

The idea behind the creation of Pakistan was to give the Muslims of the subcontinent a nation where they could exercise their beliefs openly without any fear of suppression or oppression. Surprisingly, the majority of the Muslim religious organisations or *jamats* of the time totally opposed the concept and went to great lengths to try and sabotage the Pakistan Movement. Almost all of the significant *jamats* like the Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, and Jamaat-eIslami were against the idea of the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims. Only a small group led by Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani supported the creation of Pakistan and that too much later 1945 onwards. 35 The fact that the Ulema did not support the Pakistan Movement sets history against them, but today the most powerful claim on the destiny of Pakistan as an Islamic state has been by these very Ulemas whose organisations were at the forefront of the anti-Pakistan reaction before 1947.

The history of the Ulema in the subcontinent has been one of perpetual conflict with the educated class; case in point, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1857. Nearly a hundred of these Ulemas, including Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi who was a prominent *Aalim* from the Deoband, ruled that it was unlawful to join the Patriotic Association founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. However, the Muslim community proved wiser than the religious elite and decided to follow the political lead given by Sir Syed.<sup>36</sup>

The conflict between the two classes had started in the early years of the British rule and reached its culmination with the creation of Pakistan. Since the movement for Pakistan was guided by the enlightened classes under the leadership of a western-educated man, the prestige of the Ulema had been badly damaged.37 The conflict between the conservative Ulema and the political Muslim leadership continued throughout the struggle for Pakistan.

<sup>35</sup> Dr. Ali Arshad, MaulanaShabbir Ahmed UthmanikaTahrik-i-Pakistan Mein Kirdar, 2005, p.78

Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind and Majlis-i-Ahrar propagated the idea that the concept of Pakistan was actually a territorial concept and had nothing to do with Islam. They believed that since Islam preached unity and brotherhood, the creation of a separate homeland was against its teachings. They rejected the idea of Muslim Nationalism in the shape of the creation of a separate homeland claiming it to be unIslamic and supported the Congress Party's line of nationalism. It is worth remembering that this 'nationalism' that the Congress supported was rightly viewed by the Muslim League as Hindu Nationalism, a concept whereby the Muslims would always be subjugated. But the Muslim religious parties disagreed and supported the Congress wholeheartedly. Jamaat-e-Islami, on the other hand, rejected both the Muslims League's stance on the creation of Pakistan and the Muslim nationalism stance of the other Ulemas. Maulana Abdul Aala Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami, states his belief in his book, *Nationalism and India*:

"Among Indian Muslims today we find two kinds of nationalists: the Nationalists Muslims, namely those who in spite of their being Muslims believe in Indian Nationalism and worship it; and the Muslims Nationalist: namely those who are little concerned with Islam and its principles and aims, but are concerned with the individuality and the political and economic interests of that nation which has come to exist by the name of Muslim, and they are so concerned only because of their accident of birth in that nation. From the Islamic viewpoint both these types of nationalists were equally misled, for Islam enjoins faith in truth only; it does not permit any kind of nation-worshipping at all."38

While the Ulema and the Muslim religious parties were staunchly against Jinnah's ideals and the idea of Pakistan, most of the support for Pakistan came from the educated class of Muslims. It was not until much later, around 1943, when the Muslim League began its mass movement based on the promise of a homeland based on Islamic principles. This promise wooed the hearts of some of the Muslim Ulema who rendered their support to the freedom struggle.<sup>39</sup>

The Muslim intelligentsia preceding this had stayed clear of the religious parties since they did not believe that the religious clerics or Ulemas possessed the knowledge or thinking capability to understand politics. It would be pertinent to point out at this stage that most of the problems facing the Muslims of India since the fall of the Mughals can be largely attributed to the close-minded and backward leadership of the Ulema. These Ulema were brought up on traditional education and as such were in no position to lead the Muslims against the superiorly educated Hindus.

38 Maulana Maududi, Nationalism and India, Pathankot, 1947, p-25 39 Ishtiaq Ahmed, The Concept of an Islamic State in Pakistan, p-66

The Ulemas were plagued with similar problems that they face today. Their understanding of the Quran was primarily in a literal sense and they had no mental capacity or perhaps the will to adapt to the changing times. Their version of Islam inhibited them from creative thinking and properly understanding the problems, social or philosophical, confronting the Muslim society in the post-feudal era. They were intellectually ill-equipped to comprehend the crisis Islam had to face in the twentieth century. 40

The Pakistan movement before 1943 had largely been a secular movement steered by the educated class of Muslims. It was led by established thinkers and politicians like Jinnah, Iqbal, and Liaquat Ali Khan. Jinnah was continuously harassed by the Ulema, particularly by those who sympathised with the Congress. Many times these Ulemas resorted to questioning Jinnah's temporal faith and lifestyle. Maulana Maududi of the Jamaat-e-Islami was the most critical among them. Some of his statements about the leadership of the Muslim League are reproduced below:

"Pity! From League's Quaid-e-Azam down to the lower cadres, there is not a single person who has an Islamic outlook and thinking and whose perspective on matters is Islamic."41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Pyarelal, Mahatma Candhi, *The Last Phase*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> K.K. Aziz, A History of the Idea of Pakistan Vol I, Vanguard, 1987. Lahore, p. 48

 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$  Afzal Iqbal, Islamization of Pakistan, p.28  $\,$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Afzal Iqbal, Islamization in Pakistan, p.26

"To pronounc e these people fit for leading Muslims for the simple reason that they are experts of Western type politics and masters of Western organizational arts, and are deeply in love with their people, is a manifestation of an un-Islamic viewpoint and reflects ignorance of Islam".

"Even with a microscopic study of their practical life, and their thinking, ideology, political behaviour and style of leadership, one can find not a trace of Islamic character."  $^{42}$ 

The Ulema were not willing to listen to new ideas, stuck with their limited and archaic view of Islam. For them, any mention of a separate homeland or a territorial specification of Islam was heretical. It was under such opposition from the Ulema that the Muslim League was forced to function. Jinnah while addressing students of the Muslim University Union at Aligarh in 1938 said:

<sup>40</sup> Ziya-ul-HasanFaruqi, The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan, p.79-80 <sup>41</sup> Muslims and the Present Political Turmoil (Vol.III), Army Press, Delhi, p.37

"What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Molvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Molvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other, but there is a section of them which is undesirable. Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and so-called Molvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential. I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West. What I mean is that they must share our life not only social but also political."

The above speech shows that the Muslim intelligentsia and Jinnah, in particular, were aware of the negative effect of the Maulvis on the Muslim populace. They knew that they had to set the ordinary Muslim free from the claws of these religious leaders if they ever hoped to progress in the modern world. Unsurprisingly the Maulvis vehemently opposed the ideals of the educated class of Muslims.

Majlis-i-Ahrar

Another Muslim religious party, the Majlis-i-Ahrar flung foul abuse on all the leading personalities of the Muslim League and accused them of leading un-Islamic lives. These Ulemas utilized Islam as a mere tool to defame and disgrace their political adversaries. The Ahrar openly supported the Congress, never objecting or maligning its leadership's religious practices while ceaselessly slinging slander on the Muslim League leaders. The Muslim Leaguers remained dignified maintaining that Islam was a private affair and it did not have any bearings on their call for a separate homeland.

The role of Majlis-e-Ahrar can best be understood as a prePartition body of Nationalist Muslims who remained loyal to the Congress throughout the independence movement. Majlis-e-Ahrar had formed as an Indian Nationalist Muslim body with its first major act being the anti-Ahmaddiya movement in 1933. It clashed with All India Kashmir Committee, a rival organization fighting against the Dogra Rule in Kashmir.

<sup>43</sup> Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 5 February 1938. (Yusufi 1996, Vol. II p. 727)

The Ulemas of Majlis-i-Ahrar like Ataullah Shah Bukhari, Habibur Rahman Ludhianawi, and Mazhar Ali Azhar resorted to vilifying Jinnah by attacking his personal life. Mazhar Ali Azhar used the insulting moniker 'Kafir-iAzam' (the great unbeliever) for Quaidi-Azam44 One of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Majlis-i-Ahrar which met in Delhi on 3rd March 1940, disapproved of the Pakistan plan, and in some subsequent speeches of the Ahrar leaders Pakistan was dubbed as 'palidistan'. The authorship of the following couplet is attributed to Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, a leading personality of the Ahrar:

"He abandoned Islam for the sake of a non-believer woman, is he a great leader or a great nonbeliever?"  $^{45}$ 

The Majlis was involved in the elections of 1946 and was soundly beaten by the Muslim League. This is when Maulana Azhar said, "Madhe Sahaba can be a weapon against the League", an obvious reference to Jinnah's background as a Khoja Shia Mohammedan.

The independence of Pakistan came as a huge shock to the Ahrar leadership. They disbanded with many of the Ahrar leaders migrating to Pakistan. Although before migration under the leaders' directive, the All India Majlis-i-Ahrar passed a resolution dissolving their organization and advising the Muslims to accept Maulana Azad as their leader and join the Congress Party.46

In Pakistan, the leadership resurfaced in May 1948 as Majlis-eAhrar-e-Islam. This time they propagated the view that they would take Muslim League's lead in politics. In 1949, they raised their voices for two significant demands. Firstly, they wanted Ahmadis to be declared kafir and secondly, they wanted the state to disallow nonMuslims from holding government positions. Sahibzada Faizul Hassan, another prominent leader of Majlis-e-Ahrar declared that all women without purdah, including Raana Liaquat Ali Khan were 'prostitutes'. He went as far as to say that the blame of the rapes of Muslim women in Indian Punjab fell on Jinnah, due to his personal wish of being the Governor General of Pakistan.<sup>47</sup>

In the 1950s, the Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam started agitating to establish itself politically again. They formed the Majlis-e-Amal with other religious parties. In 1953, they gave the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, the option of either accepting their demands or face civil disobedience. It is pertinent to note that the Majlis-eAhrar had shunned the Muslim League's Direct Action movement in 1946, yet they were more than happy to start one for themselves in a Muslim Pakistan. The Ahrar leaders were arrested on order of Khawaja Nazimuddin, leading to rioting all across the country.48 Majlis-eAhrar's roots as a religious extremist party existed before the birth of Pakistan, although they had no role in Pakistan's creation; in fact, they were very much against its creation. Yet, they carried over their narrow-minded policies to the newly-established country. Many attribute the birth of extremist Islam in Pakistan to the Majlis-e-Ahrar leadership.

- <sup>44</sup> I. H. Qureshi (1972), Ulama in Politics, p.354
- <sup>45</sup> AfzalIqbal, Islamization of Pakistan, p.54
- <sup>46</sup> The Munir Report 1954, p256

Jamiat-i-Ulema Hind

The Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind, the largest and most prestigious organization of the Ulemas, saw nothing Islamic in the idea of Pakistan. Its president, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, who was also Mohtamim or the Principal of Darul Ulum Deoband, opposed the idea of the Two-Nation theory, pleading that all Indians, Muslims or Hindus, were one nation. He argued that faith was universal and could not be contained within national boundaries but that nationality was a matter of geography, and Muslims were obliged to be loyal to the nation of their birth along with their non-Muslim fellow citizens.

In 1938, Maulana Madani said:

"all should endeavour jointly for such a democratic government in which

Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Parsis are included. Such a freedom is

in accordance with Islam." 49

Maulana Madani accepted the doctrine of Indian nationalism

propagated by Congress and started preaching it in mosques. He

passed a fatwa prohibiting Muslims from joining the Muslim League,

to which Allama Iqbal retaliated with the following poem in 1938: "Hasan (rose) from Basrah, Bilal from Abyssinia, Suhaib from Rome,

Deoband produced Husain Ahmad, what monstrosity is this? He chanted from the pulpit that nations are created by countries, What an ignoramus regarding the position of Muhammad! Take thyself to Muhammad, because he is the totality of

Faith, And if thou does not reach him, all (thy knowledge) is Bu Lahabism." Jamiat-e-Ulema Hind under Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and

Maulana Madani opposed Jinnah because they believed that the

solution in India was a Medina-style treaty between Hindus and

Muslims. Maulana Azad, though also a Congressite, however had

favoured the Cabinet Mission Plan that Jinnah had also accepted.

According to Azad the Cabinet Mission Plan preserved the positives

of the Pakistan scheme while avoiding the negatives.

Maulana Azad had long been an advocate of a united India and he used Jamiat-e-Ulenna Hind to further his cause. He was offered the Presidency of Congress in 1946 which he refused and later regretted. He had persuaded the pro-Congress Ulema that their interests would be better safeguarded under a united India, and that

they should repose full confidence in Indian nationalism. He had told them that they could secure for themselves the control of Muslim personal law, by getting a guarantee from the Indian National Congress, that the Muslim personal law would be administered by

qadis (judges) who were appointed from amongst the Ulema. 50

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p 133-136

<sup>49</sup> Pakistan Struggle and Pervez, Tulu-e-Islam Trust, Lahore, p.614

Jamaat-e-Islami

Maulana Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami and a former Congressite had opposed the idea of a united nationhood because he was convinced that the Muslims would be drawn away from Islam if they agreed to merge themselves in the Indian milieu. He was interested more in Islam than in Muslims and could not find comfort in any of the two nationalism ideas of the Congress or the Muslim League. The first priority for him was that Muslim loyalty to Islam should be strengthened. This could be done only by a body of Muslims who sincerely believed in Islam and did not pay only lip service to it. Hence he founded the Jamaat-e-Islami in 1941.

The Jamaat-e-Islami opposed the idea of Pakistan by calling it *NaPakistan* (not pure). Maulana Maududi was of the view that the leadership of the Muslim League was actually aiming for a Muslim state with a secular form of government. In a speech shortly before Partition he said:

<sup>50</sup> Dr.Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Ulema in Politics, p.328

"Why should we foolishly waste our time in expediting the so-called Muslimnation state and fritter away our energies in setting it up, when we know that it will not only be useless for our purposes, but will rather prove an obstacle in our path."51

Ironically, Maulana Maududi also advocated a separate homeland with a stance complex even contradictory on certain occasions. But it would be remiss to not to point out that many of his writings played an important role in convincing the Muslims that the concept of a united India was suicidal for the Muslims. He was against Muslim nationalism but he was also against Indian Nationalism. When asked to cooperate with the Muslim League he replied:

"Please do not think that I do not want to participate in this work because of any differences, my difficulty is that I do not see how I can participate because partial remedies do not appeal to my mind and I have never been interested in patch work."  $^{52}$ 

Congress and the Ulemas

In a bid to weaken the Muslim League's claim to represent all Muslims of the subcontinent, the Congress had strengthened its links with the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, the Ahrars and some other minor non-League Muslim groups like the Momins and the Shia Conference. While a great majority of Shias had joined the Muslim League and Jinnah himself was known to be a Shia, the Momins and Shia Conference backed the Congress raising the apprehension that despite Jinnah, the Sunni majority in Pakistan would ultimately restrict Shias in Pakistan.

The Congress continued to refuse to share power with the Muslim League and pursued an anti-Muslim League policy with the help of Jamiat-i-Ulema Hind. They were not satisfied with just keeping the Muslim League out of the government; they wanted it to lose support of the Muslim populace. Hence, it launched a clever movement with the Ulema in tow to establish relationships with the Muslims even though the policy of Muslim subjugation was clear from its actions. This strategy, called the 'Muslim mass contact movement', was organized in 1937 with great finesse by Nehru.53

Congress leaders used the Ulema to misguide the Muslim masses into following Congress' agendas. The Ulema had no apparent motivation to support the Congress, as it was unable to fulfil any of the issues facing the Muslims, yet they continued to do so. The Ulema tried to create a division among the Muslim masses by carrying on a most unworthy propaganda against the leaders of the Muslim League. However, this Muslim mass contact movement failed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The Process of Islamic Revolution, 2nd edition, Lahore 1955, p.37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Syed Abul Ala Maududi, Tehrik-i-Azadi-e-Hind aur Mussalman, 1942, p.22-23

 $<sup>^{53}</sup>$  Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Ulema in Politics p.334

The loyalty of the Ulemas to the Congress can be judged by the following. Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, one of the founding members of Majlis-i-Ahrar once said about Gandhi:

"I believe that Gandhi in him has the makings of a Prophet." Another prominent Ulema, Maulvi Habib-ur-Rehman of

Ludhiana once speaking about the Muslim League and Nehru said, "Ten Thousand Jinnahs, Shaukats and Zafars could safely be sacrificed for the point of the shoe of Jawaharlal Nehru." <sup>55</sup>

Ulema after the Creation of Pakistan

Contrary to the plea of the nationalist Ulema, the Muslim intelligentsia was worried that if the British left, the Muslims would be subjected to Hindu domination. The attitude of the Hindus, especially the rightest agenda would have never allowed the Muslims to coexist with them on equal terms. They had no intention of just changing masters and yearned for a separate homeland.

The Ulema had argued that by asking for a separate homeland, the Muslim League was against the concept of universal Muslim brotherhood. But in reality a separate homeland was to give an identity to the Muslims of the subcontinent. The Muslims could not have served the cause of universal brotherhood by losing their identity, which is what would have inevitably happened if they had been compelled to accept the political domination of the Hindus.

The Ulemas failed to realize this simple truth and eventually found themselves completely isolated from the Muslim struggle for emancipation. Their opposition to Pakistan on grounds of 'territorial nationalism' was the result of their failure to grasp reality. They failed to realize that Hindu domination would be devastating for the Muslims.

 $^{54}\,Sayyad\,\,Muhammad\,\,Tufail\,\,Shah,\,Rehnuma-i-Tableegh,\,p.139-140\,^{55}\,\,Maulana\,\,Zafar\,\,Ali\,\,Khan,\,Chamanistan,\,p.165$ 

The Ulema, as a class, concentrated on jurisprudence and traditional sciences with a habit of nit-picking and name-calling. As a consequence they experienced progressive alienation from their own people, who while paying them respect due to their religiosity rejected their lead in national affairs. While their influence on the religiously inclined masses remained considerable, their impact on public affairs dwindled. This was simply because the Ulema concentrated on the traditional Islamic studies ignoring the realities of the Muslim life in the contemporary world.

After independence, the conflict between the intellectuals with liberal orientation and the Ulema manifested itself in a judicial enquiry conducted by Justice Muhammad Munir in Lahore for the anti-Qadiani riots in 1953. The Judge said something which the intellectuals and politicians had refrained from saying openly. The enquiry's findings, known as the Munir Report, publicized the fact that the Ulema were not only incompetent to lead a modern state but were deplorably inept under cross-questioning even to give realistic guidance on the elementary matters of Islam. The court of enquiry was presented with the pitiful spectacle of Muslim divines differing sharply on the definition of a Muslim yet each was adamant that all who disagreed should be put to death.56

#### At one point the report emphasized:

"But we cannot refrain from saying here that it was a matter of infinite regret to us that the Ulema whose first duty should be to have settled views on this subject, were hopelessly disagreed amongst themselves."

The creation of Pakistan was the greatest defeat of the 'nationalist' Ulema. But soon after the establishment of Pakistan, power-hungry Ulema raised their voice in the political arena with new modulations. They argued that Pakistan was created to establish an Islamic state based on the traditional Sharia law. However, the irony of the argument that Pakistan was founded on religious ideology lies in the fact that practically every Muslim group and organization in the Indian subcontinent that was popularly religious was hostile to Jinnah and the Muslim League, and strongly opposed to the Pakistan movement.

The Hindus knew the importance of the freedom struggle for Pakistan. On 1st November 1941, K.M. Munshi had exclaimed to a large gathering.

"Do you know what Pakistan is? If you don't, listen! Pakistan means that Muslims can make in one or more parts of India, their homeland, where the system of government would be based on the Qur'an with Urdu as their national language. In simple terms, Pakistan will be a Muslim land where the government will be Islamic."57

# <sup>56</sup> Munir Report 1954, p.205

Unfortunately, the Ulema failed to realize this.

The claim of the Muslim League to be the sole representative of the entire Muslim community in India was gravely weakened by the opposition of the most important group of Indian Ulema. A great deal of effort was devoted by Muslim League leaders to winning over the Ulema. They did eventually succeed, but only partially, and only when the creation of Pakistan was all but assured.

#### The Role of the British in the Creation of Pakistan

It was after the War of Independence in 1857, when the Muslims were first seen as a threat by the British officials. The threat of the Muslim or the term "Mussulmanophobia" was first coined then by one of the British officials. The threat of Muslims convinced the British rulers to keep Muslims away from higher administrative jobs and the army. It was the fear of another Muslim revolt that led the British officials to recruit Hindus in the army and in higher administrative positions.

The education policy of Britain caused serious harm to the Muslim masses in particular. The replacement of the English language in place of Persian, as the

official vernacular, made the Muslims redundant. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslims referred to western education, as the 'Godless' education. This attitude rendered Muslims illiterate allowing the Hindus, who had embraced the English language and western education, to gain the favour of the British officials.

The hostile feelings of British vis-à-vis Muslims endured for a long time, shaping the social and political development of Muslim movements. The post-1857 British policies, directly or indirectly, affected the Muslims negatively. The Muslims lost their political dominance causing the loss of economic dominance as well. This economically and politically deteriorating situation of Muslims helped the strengthening of the Hindus communally as well as politically. The Hindus would not lose any opportunity to undermine Muslims' position in any sphere, political or economic.

#### <sup>57</sup> Daily 'Tribune', November 2, 1941

The political scenario of the subcontinent was in part influenced by the British policies and largely by the Hindus' indifference and hostility towards Muslims. The new century saw the scenario of new British policies vis-à-vis changes in the policies of the regional powers. The British interest in encouraging the Muslim politicians was nothing but self-preservation. The vast Empire so vast could not ignore rivals in the region or friends of rivals within the Empire.

The British always tried to honour the importance, sacrifices, and services of the local communities. In 1942, when the British desperately needed Indian men for recruitment to the British army they adopted the policy of appearament of Indians dedicated to their freedom struggle. They had to be sensitive to the minorities' demands and the Hindu importance whilst the framing of any policy. Viceroy Linlithgow wrote to the Secretary of State for India in 1942:

"I may be right in thinking that your present formula is an attempt to meet my requirement of not upsetting the Punjab or the Army. From my point of view this formula would be fatal to declaration in Hindu eyes. They would interpret it as a virtual promise not merely of Pakistan but of Sikhistan also, and as containing greater possibilities of disintegrating India than even Jinnah claims. They would observe that not even a majority in a provincial assembly would be needed to detach some particular region from the Union. They would regard it as still further empowering minorities to force separation on exorbitant terms by the mere refusal to agree. I do not object to giving the minorities a strong position in the future deliberations, but if we promise too much strength now the declaration will be reviled by Hindus." 58

Even the British electoral process from the start had been generally fair of which the 1946 election is testament. The British and Their Relationships with the Ulemas

There are not many instances found that show Britain to have any links with the Muslim Ulemas that opposed the creation of Pakistan. But the British had a history of using propaganda to hire potential agitators. These agitators included a number of Muslim leaders and were against Germany, Italy, and of course, Russia. It is not a giant leap to realize that the British may have had a role behind the Ulemas' later refusal to join the Muslim League in its efforts for the creation of Pakistan.

#### <sup>58</sup> Letter from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India on March 9, 1942

The British had to find means to employ a propaganda technique in a region which was increasingly becoming anti-British. During this time, British had appointed Sir George Cunningham, famous as a man worth the equivalent of a division of troops, to carry out this task. Sir Cunningham's trusted Pathan advisor, Khan Bahadur Kuli Khan was assigned to get in touch with the religious personalities.<sup>59</sup>

Before September 1939, Kuli Khan convinced people, mostly Ulema, to attend covert meetings with Sir Cunningham for his British agenda. Mullah Marwat, a proponent of 'free India from foreign rule', was convinced to join the British against the Godless-Bolsheviks' Russia and its allies (Germany and Italy). The Press was largely used to forward this propaganda by the mentioned.<sup>60</sup>

Religious organizations encouraged people to join the army and security services, for their faith, not the British. They argued that British and Muslims were enemies but in this World War II, they should be supported because it had become a war of believers and non-believers. The religious organization, Jamiat ul-Ulema-(Sarhad) arranged tours to propagate anti-Russian, anti-German, and antiltalian propaganda. This campaign of propaganda greatly helped Britain in its war 61.

The dairies of Sir George Cunningham carry the proof of how tactfully British government had used preachers to act opposite of what they preached. They had committed these heinous crimes against the masses and justified them as propaganda. The Ulema became British puppets, enslaved and motivated by their greed, selling their dignity and soul defaming Islam. The Ulema displayed their duplicitous motives by narrating personally gratifying interpretations of Islam to justify their actions.

- <sup>59</sup> Khan, W. (2004). "Facts are Facts: The Untold story of India&#39; Partition". (trans.2.ed)., p.77
- 60 Christain Tripodi, Edge of Empire: The British Political Officer and Tribal Administration on the North-West Frontier 1877–1947, Routledge, 2016, p. 205
- <sup>61</sup> Khan, W. (2004). "Facts are Facts: The Untold story of India&#39; Partition". (trans.2.ed)., p.78

Kuli Khan, as stated above, had recruited Mullah Marwat already. The circle grew with a number of mullahs coming in contact with the British agents. This task was accomplished through convincing conversations accompanying monetary favours. Generous payments were made to people to disseminate the British propaganda. Sir George Cunningham's diaries provide important evidence and historically accurate context of these activities. Payments passed through a chain of people, with Kuli Khan playing the role of the opening batsman, from Kuli Khan to Mullah Marawat and from Mullah Marwat to other mullahs in the wider circle.62

The circle comprised of three groups. The less powerful mullahs were under the local khans, with next higher ranked group reporting to deputy commissioners, while Sir George Cunningham himself would meet the few important ones.

The political agents would meet mullahs individually then bribe them with forty to fifty rupees extracting a promise of preaching jihad against forces for the good of Ahl-e-Kitaab (British and Muslims). They were also promised government pensions over satisfactory performance. According to Sir George Cunningham, he had paid 600 rupees to Ghulam Haider Sherpao to visit villages and propagate jihad. Hazrat Ali of Swat controlled the mullahs from Swat, Buner, Mardan, and Rani Zai on Cunningham's command at the payment of fifteen rupees per month. Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan had been paid 600 rupees to hand this amount to three spiritual leaders: Ama Khel Faqir, Pir Musa, and Pir Zakoori in exchange for their allegiance.63

When the Russian threat ended the Japanese and German threat remained coaxing a call from Sir George Cunningham to Kuli Khan to adjust the propaganda

accordingly from anti-Russian to anti-German and anti-Italian. Islam was being traded by the so-called Ulema, men of faith, and the British to fool the illiterate masses for their own benefits. Sir George Cunningham states,

"Insist ence on the Zulm of Nazism, its danger to Islam and its result on the conquered countries should be 90cper cent of our material. A small but vivid incident – true if possible – illustrating what Nazism means to a villager in a subject country, an incident which will strike an ordinary Pathan's imagination and of a kind which will cause him to repeat it to others, is worth more than pages of general tirade against the creed of Nazis". <sup>64</sup>

Khan, W. (2004). "Facts are Facts: The Untold story of India' Partition". (trans.2.ed)., p.78-79
 W.Khan, "Facts are Facts: The Untold story of India", 2004, p.80

The British and their Congress Buddies

The British, for its part, adopted the policy to maintain harmony and peace between Muslims and Hindus in the latter part of their rule. They valued unity and tranquillity in the British India providing several opportunities to the Indian leaders to achieve communal harmony but the leaders failed to acquiesce. The blame for this falls squarely on the shoulders of the Hindu nationalistic Congress.

Almost all the primary sources related to the colonial era have been declassified and no document has yet been found which reveals evidence of a deliberate and sustained 'divide and rule' strategy in India. Moreover, to adopt this understanding, one has to ignore evidence of the Hindu-Muslim conflict, which was born out of the Hindus' need to stamp out the Muslims from 'their' *Hindustan*. Furthermore, the postcolonial governments of India had been confronting communal conflict in Kashmir, Gujarat, Assam, etc. for decades. The situation testifies that the British did not need much to brew hatred between the Hindus and the Muslims, the Hindus accomplished this alone.

It is an underiable reality that the Congress leadership concluded 'friendly' dialogue with the imperialists who were projected before the masses as the exploiters and enemies of India. There is no doubt that these negotiations were necessary but the Congress leadership, or the Muslim Leaguers, never treated the British as enemies in the discussions. They never refused to address the British with 'His Majesty's Government' or 'His or Your Excellency'. Hardly, any letter from the top Congress leaders to the British Viceroy can be presented as evidence of their defant attitude.

Although these were the recognised and expected forms of address in imperial traditions, which the 'freedom fighters' should not have honoured as it legitimised the very Imperial rule they were opposing. To support their desire of independence they should have acquired a polite, decent manner using different honourable words during their correspondence. Gandhi and Nehru, the two most prominent Indian leaders, very astutely never refused negotiations with the rulers. In fact, Nehru and Mountbatten enjoyed very welldocumented friendly relations comprising of light talks, dinners, cocktails, functions and more.

64 Christopher Tuck, Professor Greg Kennedy, British Propaganda and Wars of Empire: Influencing Friend and Foe 1900-2010, 2014, p.67

Many Indian historians maintain that the Muslim League played a pro-British role but not to the degree that the Indian National Congress did. The founding leadership of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and in India after 1947 was British. The initial period after independence the Hindus utilized the competence of Allan Octavian Hume for establishing effective management of Congress and later of Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor General of India.

Allan Octavian Hume not only founded the Congress but also single-handedly managed its affairs, like finances, reports, arranging Congress' annual sessions, successfully. There were no Hindus but only Hume who undertook all the political work until Gopal Krishna Gokhale followed his example in 1901. Five Britons had been invited to preside over the annual meetings from 1885 to 1918 including George Yule in 1888, William Wedderburn in 1889 and 1910, Alfred Webb in 1894, Henry Cotton in 1904, and Annie Besant in 1917. The Congress deliberately chose Britons as presidents in order to prove its Britishloyal, moderate, non-racist, and liberal character. The Congress's president was a four-day (the duration of the annual gathering) king of the Indians. During the annual gathering, the representatives from different areas of India were supposed to stay at different places according to their religions and status. 65

The British intention behind the foundation of the Indian National Congress was to provide a training forum to the Indians. Perhaps, under the same feelings, the Nehru family allegedly adopted this political gimmick in the post-independence politics.

Gurmit Singh writes that the Nehru family being more experienced than the other Congressites, utilised the British policy of divide and rule in India after Partition executing it with more barbaric finesse than their 'masters' in the East Punjab during the early 1980s. According to Gurmit Singh, 'The Central Government's strategy was to divide Sikhs" to maintain their political hold in the region.<sup>66</sup>

65 SR Mehrotra, "The Early Indian National Congress, 1885-1918: Ideals, Objectives and Organization," Essays in Modern Indian History, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.45-48.

Additionally, Gandhi and majority of the Congress leaders never accepted the status of Bhagat Singh Shaheed, Babbar Akalis, Ghadar party, Kuka movement, and a number of anti-British movements which is an attestation of their loyalty to the British.

During the Round Table Conference, the Indian leaders including Gandhi showed their inability to reconcile with the demands of different communities in India, virtually admitting their failure and rendering a blind trust in the British.

All political developments on the part of the Muslim League were considered to be dictated by the British but the major demand, the Pakistan scheme, was not declared as a British move. In the opinion of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 'the Pakistan scheme accepted by the Muslim League at Lahore in March does not represent the decision of Indian Muslims, and he has refused to admit the possibility of Muslims elected to a constituent assembly demanding the vivisection of India. 67

Wavell and Mountbatten

By 1944, Britain and its allies had come out of the World War II successfully and United States of America, an ally, wanted a selfgoverning India. This was the time when Wavell's Plan came to the forefront. It had been dismissed a year earlier in 1943, but Wavell emphasized that the plan could help end the political and constitutional deadlock in India.

Lord Wavell was not willing to accept Pakistan, as he could envision the losses (human and territorial) this event could accrue. The new Labour government had formed in Britain in July 1945, its mindset obvious from its continued rejection of the proposals presented by the British Government. They wanted that the final judges of any policy regarding India, should remain in Britain itself. Wavell failed because he could not regain the trust of 'dominant parties, and have the prestige of established parties'; the mistrust failed him because the British Government was not willing to transfer power to the 'Brown Oligarchy'. 68

Before the Labour Party's victory in election, it eagerly supported Congress and wanted self-rule in India. One of the statement states that, 'if Labour is returned we would close the India office and transfer Indian business to the Dominions office.... This act would give them confidence that they are no longer governed from Whitehall'.69

Cripps, a close friend of Nehru in the Labour government, was one of the three cabinet members in the Cabinet Mission formed in 1946. Wavell remarks on Cripps were that, 'He is sold to Congress point of view'. Wavell felt that it would be biased and partial to accept Cripps' decisions, ignoring one of the other dominant parties, Muslim League, which had the prestige of an established party. Wavell complained to Prime Minister Attlee regarding Cripps' unofficial advisers and indirect contacts. In reality, the failure of the Cripps Mission can be attributed to the unofficial and close contacts of the cabinet members with the Congress. <sup>70</sup> These close contacts were confidential, like an illicit romance, but instrumental in maintaining the Congress' and Muslim League's differences.

The Secretary of State for India, Pethick-Lawrence maintained secret correspondence with Nehru on the Cabinet mission proposals, with Nehru demanding increased concessions each time. Cripps wanted the Congress to form the government in India, as the British Government, regarding them as 'socialist brothers', had a lenient opinion towards them. The appearsement of the Congress was the priority of the Labour Government, while the Muslim League was cast aside.71 The alteration of the Cabinet mission plan, to gain Congress' pleasure, eventually reformed it to the one proposed by the Congress rather than the one proposed by the mediator. According to Leonard Mosley:

"Jinnah and Muslim League mistrusted the Congress and Congress mistrusted the Viceroy; Wavell mistrusted the Labour Government; Attlee did not necessarily mistrust Wavell but he had certainly lost faith in him." <sup>72</sup>

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68 M.I Chawla., "Wavell's Relations with his Majesty's Government: (October 1943- March 1947)". Journal of South Asian Studies: Vol. 24. No.1., 2009, p.75
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#### On 21st March 1947, the Daily Telegraph wrote,

"wide spread sympathy with Viscount Wavell, who is regarded as having

been given an impossible individual task, and is now made to appear a scapegoat

for the failure of the Government to bring the Indian parties together".73 There have been historians who have regarded Lord Wavell as an

honest, unbiased viceroy who, although had been against the demand

of Pakistan, but was not anti-Muslim. His efforts were of an impartial

official of the British government, ensuring safety and unprejudiced

rights, constitutional or political, to all communities. This is much

more than that could be said of Nehru's platonic lover and Wavell's

successor, Lord Mountbatten. On  $22^{\mathrm{nd}}$  March 1947, Mountbatten

was appointed as the last Viceroy of British India.

Nehru and Mountbatten became friends in March 1946 with

their friendship growing stronger with each passing year and political

crisis they faced together. Congress, glad with Mountbatten's

appointment replacing Wavell's impartiality, thought that pounding

the idea of Pakistan into oblivion had now become a possibility. Mountbatten met Jinnah in a series of meetings to discuss a

united plan. Mountbatten insisted on a 'weaker central government

consisting of Pakistan and Hindustan, being a part of British

Commonwealth', but was unable to convince Jinnah. He stated, 'It

had become clear that the Muslim League would resort to arms if Pakistan in

some form was not conceded'.74

The British Government and Congress also agreed on partition

because Congress leaders believed that 'partition would be

temporary'. This naive belief guided Congress to accept the

partition.75 The date for the transfer of power was 1st June 1948, but

later it was changed to 15th August 1947.

The plan of transfer of power and division of British India was

chalked out by Lord Ismay, a chief aide of Mountbatten. And the

chalked out plan required approval from the Governor's Conference

in April which would progress to Britain in May of 1947 for the final approval. Within this period, the 'plan' would not involve any of the

parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, to retain its neutrality. <sup>76</sup> To Mountbatten, confidential matters had the least importance

especially with regards to Nehru. Mountbatten showed the 'plan' to

Nehru to which he responded that this plan means the 'Balkanization

of India'. Mountbatten asked V.P. Menon to formulate a new plan in

which Nehru performed his duties as the 'editor-inchief'. The 'plan'

flew to London and Attlee's Cabinet approved it in a meeting of five

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Dr. Gumit Singh, *History of Sikh Struggles*, vol. IV New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1992, 34-58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Report on the situation in the Punjab for the first-half of June, 1940, L/PJ/5/243.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid p. 76

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Wavell, "Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal", Oxford University Press., 1973, p.494

<sup>71</sup> Ibid n 28

<sup>72</sup> M.I.Chawla, "Wavell's Relations with his Majesty's Government: (October 1943- March 1947)". Journal of South Asian Studies: Vol. 24. No.1., 2009, p.83

minutes.77

The Muslim League leadership was of the view that Bengal should remain united and there was a prospect it would be independent of Pakistan and Hindustan; a Muslim majority region would assure a Muslim-led government. The Congress completely changed its previous 1905's stance, when in 1905 Bengal was partitioned; it protested against it as a policy to divide Bengal on communal basis. Ironically in 1947 the same Congress wanted a divided Bengal and Punjab on 'communal' basis. <sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 94
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 $^{74}$  M. Shahid Amin, A Concise History of Pakistan. Karachi: The Institute of Business Management, 2015, p132

Britain and the Drawing of Boundaries

The first time Britain hinted towards the recognition of Pakistan was through the Cripps Mission. At the same time, the British wanted to avoid the 'Balkanisation of India'. The strategic necessity for this policy increased with the onset of the Cold War. As early as August 1942, Mr. Leo Amery, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India wrote to the Viceroy that the British must not only, "avoid raising false expectations among the Sikhs themselves but also to prevent encouragement to separatist tendencies in other Provinces like Madras and Bombay". 79 The evidence from the final years of British rule is clear that United India, not 'Balkanisation' of this region was the creed and policy of the British. Pakistan was eventually to be conceded, but with great reluctance.

The British educational and democratic reforms influenced the Indian society and resulted in numerous gaps. Due to the lack of creative political traditions, the Indian leadership could not fill these gaps. By adopting the theories and practices of the British masters, they achieved independence but could not secure integrity of the region despite their desire and efforts. The depressed saw their; posterity in chains therefore they preferred separation to eternal slavery. On the eve of Partition, Jinnah warned the Sikhs not to commit suicide by joining the Hindu majority but they did. They are repenting now and will be doing so forever for siding with India.

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76 Ibid, p. 133
77 Ibid, p. 134
78 Ibid, p. 136
79 Letter from Amery to Lord Linlithgow on 20 August 1942
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The Congress claimed to be the representative of all the peoples living in the subcontinent and wanted the support of all minorities to establish its writ in Indian affairs but the British too needed the support of all the minorities, therefore, they could never overlook their interests. The status of the ruling class and the moral pressure of the Muslim world also played a favourable role in British's receptiveness of the Muslim League's demands.<sup>80</sup>

The tragedy of Pakistan and Ind ia's conflict over borders has its roots in the British policies as well. At the time of independence, British interests did not allow complete disassociation from the region; it still was strategically important. Thus, Britain persuaded Pakistan and India to remain in the Commonwealth. Afghanistan wanted the Durand Line to be reversed as soon as the British left, but when Pakistan became a part of the Commonwealth it did not reverse the Durand Line. Great Britain had argued that if it was reversed, it would undermine the defence and stability of the Commonwealth.81

The first trick played in the Boundary Commission was the demarcation of borders. The Commission was chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, consisting of two subcommissions: the Muslim League's commission and the Congress' commission. Radcliffe did the demarcation of Bengal and Punjab within thirty-six days and left for Britain. The results of the Commission astonished both the subcommissions of Congress and Muslim League. The Indian side which was worried over Kashmir, but were happy at the inclusion of Gurdaspur, dragged the Indian border to touch Kashmir. Muslim League already had lost the Muslim majority regions to India and losing a Muslim-populated region sharing borders with Pakistan was a drastic wound to the leadership. 82

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80 Letter from Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India on 3 March 1946
81 W. Khan, "Facts are Facts: The Untold story of India", 2004, p.197
82 Swami, P. (2006). "India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 006). "India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 2004". Routledge., p.20
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The Muslim League was not willing to let go of Kashmir. But, Liaquat Ali Khan and Ch. Muhammad Ali of the Muslim League selected Sir Zafarullah as the senior counsel of the Commission to attempt conciliation with India on the Kashmir issue. Sir Zafarullah had not consulted anyone in deciding 'tehsils' as the unit of division. Muslim League leaders, on the contrary, had been of the view to select population as the unit of division. Sir Zafarullah and Muslim League differed over this. However, the Radcliff Award which favoured India and as a consequence, Gurdaspur was given to India which also led to losing Kashmir to India.83

There are similarities between the Radcliffe award and the Breakdown Plan. In both the demarcation plans, the Indians had Gurdaspur in their territory. The Breakdown Plan was made in the Wavell's Viceroyalty, while the Radcliffe award was made in the Mountbatten Viceroyalty.

When Wavell had named the demarcation plan as the Breakdown Plan, the purpose was to let Jinnah's demand for Pakistan look less attractive. The similarities between the two plans were because one was drawn by Hindu advisers<sup>84</sup> and the other by Hindu leaders, i.e. Nehru and Menon<sup>85</sup>.

The Breakdown Plan was worked out, as the Radcliffe award. Radcliffe himself had no knowledge of the Indian territories and had rarely attended any meeting of the boundary commission. Radcliffe's private secretary, Beaumont revealed that Radcliffe under Mountbatten's pressure, who was pressurized by Nehru, changed the already conceived map with a partition of territory favouring India during lunch. This is alluded to in an infamous BBC article as *'Partitioning India over Lunch'*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 133

#### Beaumont in his piece claimed,

"the Viceroy Mountbatten, must take the blame – though not the sole blame

-for the massacres in the Punjab in which between 500,000 to a million men, women and children perished ... The handover of power was done too quickly". <sup>86</sup>

M. I. (2009). "Wavell's Relations with his Majesty's Government: (October

March 1947)". Journal of South Asian Studies: Vol. 24. No.1., p.89

85 Amin, Shahid. M. (2015). "A Concise History of Pakistan". The Institute of Business Management., p.134

<sup>86</sup> BBC News. (2007, August 10). "Partitioning India over Lunch".

Retrieved April 29, 2016: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/6926464.stm

Wavell had said a year earlier that if Partition was inevitable it should be done in gradual, progressive phases. But he was prevented to do so because the Labour Government feared the Congress' negative reaction. It ignored Wavell's advice which would have helped the British government to retreat from India respectfully. Ultimately, they had appointed Mountbatten, a man of lesser political aptitude and honour than Wavell.

Jinnah's refusal to accept Mountbatten as the joint Governor General, humiliated Mountbatten who wrote in his personal report on 4th July 1947 that:

"I asked ... [Jinnah], "do you realize what this will cost you"? He said sadly "it may cost me several crores of rupees in assets", to which I replied somewhat acidly "it may well cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan." <sup>87</sup>

The Nawab of Bhopal informed Jinnah on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1947 that Viceroy Mountbatten had been pressurizing the princely states to join the existing constituent assembly. Except for Hyderabad, Junagadh, Bhopal, and Jammu and Kashmir, every state acceded to India. This does not look kindly on the Viceroy's intention of being impartial.<sup>88</sup>

The Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai reminded Nixon on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1972 that the Kashmir issue was left unresolved strategically by the British.89 There is a possibility of this being true. Nehru and his allies may have been the pawns of greater powers unwilling to loosen their grip on the region.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p. 98





<sup>83</sup> Ahmad, B. (1994). Khalistan and Qadiani State. In B. Ahmad, "Ahmadiyya Movement: BritishJewish Connections". Islamic Study Forum, p.250-252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Chawla, M. I. (2009). "Wavell's Relations with his Majesty's Government: (October

<sup>87</sup> Lubna Saif, "Kashmir and 3 June Plan", Pakistan Vision Vol. 14, No. 1., 2013, p.104

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Ibid, p. 104











The two wings of Pakistan - East and West Pakistan - had little in common. Be it common freedom struggle, demography, topography, geography, and even culture. The ethnic, climatic, and economic distinctions between both parts of Pakistan were substantial. Both the Pakistani territories did not include any significant industrial assets at the time of its creation; consequently immediately faced significant economic crises and military vulnerabilities. After independence, the Indian National Congress had expected the Muslim leadership to be willing to negotiate after realizing that Pakistan was destined to fail. However, their expectations remained unfulfilled. Undeterred, the Indian National Congress concocted devious machinations, resulting in the catastrophic finale at the cost of human lives, that redrew borders again in 1971.

From a Muslim perspective, the borders of the new Pakistan made little sense since its establishment. Both major Muslim-majority provinces were carved-up and East Bengal, in particular, lost its industrial base to West Bengal which acceded India. A third of the Muslims of pre-Partition India remained in the post-Partition India, and so the Muslims of the subcontinent were now divided into three territories; East and West Pakistan and India. The political and economic crises that immediately faced the new state of Pakistan were, therefore, not unexpected and played a major role in the events that were to unfold in the ensuing decades.

The areas of British India creating Pakistan were composed primarily of the fifty-three raw material producing agrarian hinterlands of India. East Bengal, which became East Pakistan, had previously supplied raw jute to the jute mills located around Calcutta. West Punjab, the most important component of West Pakistan, provided raw cotton to the Bombay textile industry. Both Bombay and Calcutta were now part of India. The two wings of Pakistan constituted 23 per cent of the land mass of India, possessed 18 per cent of its population, but inherited less than 10 per cent of its industry.90

A political and constitutional crisis in the infant state was unavoidable. East Pakistan was poorer and less developed than West Pakistan, had virtually no indigenous capitalists and no senior bureaucrats or army officers. West Pakistan too was underdeveloped, compared to the more advanced areas of India, but many of the immigrant Muslim businessmen and senior bureaucrats from British India settled here due to their cultural compatibility with the region. The army, too, was largely drawn from the Punjab region of West Pakistan. The irony was that the indigenous elites in neither wing of Pakistan had been supportive of the idea of Pakistan. Both the two most important Muslim-majority areas of India – Punjab and Bengal

- had suffered partitions. The demographic dominance of Muslims in these provinces before Partition had translated into Muslims enjoying substantial power in the representative politics introduced by the British in 1936, making these areas unsympathetic towards the Muslim League and not prepared for Partition. Not surprisingly, the Muslim League faced serious problems in trying to stitch together a consolidated Pakistani state after 1947.

West Pakistan's largely Punjabi elites soon discovered that they were the dominant economic and military group in the new state, softening them to the idea of Pakistan. In contrast, the East Pakistani elites remained embroiled in conflicts with the central leadership due to a variety of reasons. As a result of these tensions, the new state of Pakistan faced serious conflicts, between the elites of its two wings from the outset, which remained unresolved even after a decade of constitutional discussions.

At the forefront of the dismemberment of Pakistan was East Pakistan's demand for provincial autonomy. In this chapter we discuss the various factors that led to the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.

90 "Ayesha Jalal, The State of Martial Rule: The Origin of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence, Cambridge, 1990"

# The Language Issue-Bengali versus Urdu

The Issue Rears its Head

Language is the reflection of a society's status and serves as the sign of authenticity. Bengali, historically, was not a suppressed language and the Bengali people were not suppressed people. The progressive sublimity of Bengali literature, developed under the patronage of Muslim rulers during the Mughal reign, is a testament to this. The language issue shook the very foundation of Pakistan and many believe that the movement for Bangladesh began with the movement for Bengali language. 91

The fact of the matter is that the language of Muslims in Pakistan was not Urdu. It was Punjabi in Punjab, Sindhi in Sindh, Pashto in NWFP, Balochi in Balochistan, and Bengali in East Pakistan. Urdu was the lingua franca and the unifying language of the Muslims of India but did not represent either East Pakistan or West Pakistan, a fact lost on most East Pakistanis.

The initial language controversy was triggered during the second session of the Constituent Assembly in 1948. Mr Dhirendra Nath Datta, a Hindu member from East Pakistan addressed the assembly,

"Bengali is a provincial language but so far as our state is concerned; it is the language of the majority of the state... Out of sixty- nine million people in Pakistan, fortyfour million people speak the Bengali language... The state language of the state should be the language which is used by the majority of the people of the state, and for that, I consider the Bengali language is a lingua franca of our state... Bengali should not be treated as a provincial language. It should be treated as the language of the state." 92

Liaquat Ali Khan, who was at the time the Prime Minister, knowing very well that he was responding to a Bengali Hindu said the following,

"Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this subcontinent and the language of a hundred million Muslims is Urdu... Pakistan is a Muslim state and it must have its lingua franca, the language of the Muslim nation... I had thought that the object of the amendment was an innocent one, in that it was intended to include Bengali among the media of expression of assembly but now the object seems to be to create a rift between the peoples of Pakistan and to take away from the Muslims that unifying link which can be achieved by a common language." <sup>93</sup>

This led to an increase in the demand of giving a national status to Bengali in East Pakistan. The student community contributed actively to this demand, causing their clash with the police outside a government building, which resulted in some 50 injuries.94 Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister of East Pakistan, recognised the need to contain the situation and entered into negotiations with the Committee of Action for a resolution. Consequently, an agreement was signed with two important clauses:

<sup>91</sup> Rafiqul Islam, The Bengali Language Movement and Emergence of Bangladesh, Asian Studies, Vol. XI, 1978

<sup>92</sup> Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, proceedings 1948, p. 15-16

"i) In the 1948 session of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, a special resolution would be moved to propose to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to make Bengali one of the national languages of Pakistan, giving it equal status to Urdu.

ii) Another resolution would be moved in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, to make Bengali the official language of the province of East Bengal in place of English." <sup>95</sup>

For some reason, the provincial legislature of East Pakistan completely ignored the above-mentioned agreement. Thus the language issue, instead of fizzling out and dying, renewed and began to gain significant backing in East Pakistan. The fault for this lies with Khawaja Nazimuddin whose futile efforts in handling the issue condemned Pakistan to a division that didn't wither away. Khawaja Nazimuddin restated what Liaquat Ali Khan had said in the Constituent Assembly in 1948 about the language controversy being a conspiracy to undermine the state.96 From this, it seems clear that Khawaja Nazimuddin was influenced by his party colleagues from East Pakistan in believing that the whole language issue was a farce and was only raised to undermine them. There are also reports that he was convinced that the people behind the language movement were actually supporters of his political adversary Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy. All of this is open to conjecture, but the decline of Khawaja Nazimuddin from signing the agreement with the Action Committee to the representation in the Provincial Legislature did raise a few serious questions. The politics in Pakistan was so politically precarious that it is not hard to imagine a leader making decisions based on his own well-being.

- <sup>93</sup> Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, proceedings 1948, p. 17
- <sup>94</sup> Lawrence Ziring,The Ayub Khan era: Politics of Pakistan, 1958-1969, Syracuse University Press, 1971
- <sup>95</sup> R. Islam, op. cit., p. 144
- <sup>96</sup> Ibid.

The bureaucrats of the central government had no sympathy for the Bengali language and its movement. They believed that the Bengali-language movement was being financed from across the border; so they advised Khawaja Nazimuddin not to bow down to the miscreants. Whether the language issue was backed from across the border or not, what Khawaja Nazimuddin failed to realize was that the issue was real and the Bengalis were keen to see their language, Bengali, given equal status to Urdu.

It is important to remember that at the time of Partition most of the Bengali Muslims belonged to the lower middle class, having little or no education. As a consequence, they were under-represented in all of the major sectors of state institutions including the armed forces and bureaucracy. Thus, after Partition, when the Hindus vacated many posts in the administration in East Pakistan, all these were filled by non-Bengali Muslims. The competitive tests held to fill these positions were administered in Urdu or English but not in Bengali. East Pakistanis not knowing sufficient Urdu lost out to West Pakistanis and a feeling of resentment persisted. 97 The Central Government of Pakistan started the unilateral use of Urdu money order forms, postal stamps, currency, coins, railway tickets and official letterheads, even without formally adopting Urdu as the state language of Pakistan. Obviously, this created further hostility amongst Bengalis for Urdu and its supporters.

This move particularly is not understandable. The Federal Government of Pakistan had not adopted Bengali as the official language despite orders by the Supreme Court. The bureaucrats wanted to be more loyal to their leaders, demonstrated this loyalty by using Urdu as the official language.

Quaid-eAzam's Role

The leadership of Pakistan failed to handle the issue and it was referred to Quaid-iAzam's able leadership. The Muslim League, as will be discussed later, was in an administrative turmoil, completely reliant on its charismatic leadership especially that of Mr Jinnah.

97 Ibid Jinnah himself was in failing health. In his speech at Dacca University on 24th March 1948 he said,

"There can, how ever, be only one lingua franca of the State, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other. The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan, and above all a language which, more than any other provincial language embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries." 98

Mr Jinnah also met with the Committee of Action that had been working on the language issue. The Committee of Action was of the view that if one state language was to be adopted, then English should be selected, or else two should be adopted like that in USSR and Switzerland. Since, they were of the view that Urdu did not merit as the state language and if a Pakistani language must be the state language, it should be Bengali; as spoken by the majority of the population. Jinnah rejected this argument stating the Urdu was the language of Muslims of the subcontinent and must remain the state language of Pakistan. <sup>99</sup>

In addition to the language issue, the Bengalis were getting sick of the haughty and supercilious attitude of Punjabi officers towards them 100 Jinnah was aware of this and knew that the problem was complex. Addressing the Bengalis he said,

"Please do not think that I do not apprecia te the position, very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali he says: Yes you are right, but Punjabi is so arrogant; when you speak to a Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says, 'Yes, but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out.' Now this is vicious circle and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, more statesman like and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind and from today put an end to this sectionalism." <sup>101</sup>

This was because the core of the issue had always been based on religion. After the death of Jinnah, the Muslim Ulema championed the cause of Urdu as the only language of Pakistan as it, "embodied the best of Islamic culture, Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries." <sup>102</sup> The Bengalis wanted the independence to develop their own language, to separate it from the influence of the Hindus who they had shared it for centuries. This was lost on the promoters of Urdu. It should be remembered that many of these Muslim Ulema had opposed Mr Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the creation of Pakistan, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Lawrence Ziring, "The A Lawrence Ziring, "The A1969", Syracuse University Press, 1971

 $<sup>^{99}</sup>$  Ahmed Kamruddin, "A Socio Political history of Bengal and the Birth of Bangladesh", 1975

 $<sup>^{100}\,\</sup>mathrm{Khalid}$  B. Sayeed, "Pakistan The Formative Phase", 1986

Dacca University Campus Action

Khawaja Nazimuddin had replaced Mr Jinnah as the Governor General after his death in 1948. The language issue motored along with no territory being gained or lost by either side. Pakistan and its Prime Minister were too busy looking after international affairs to look towards East Pakistan, and try to pacify the growing discontent felt there. After the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

In the beginning of 1952, the language controversy took a serious turn. Both Mr Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan were no more in this world to resolve the issue and Khawaja Nazimuddin, given his track record, was not in a position to handle the issue properly.

The people of East Pakistan were critical of the anti-Bengali policy of the Punjabi and Muhajir dominated ruling class. With the political crisis, the economic condition in East Pakistan had also deteriorated. The East Pakistanis, losing faith in Muslim League formed a new political party, the Awami Muslim League, with Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, as its leader in 1949. The party later dropped the word Muslim to accommodate the other minorities and became the Awami League. <sup>103</sup> This party exploited the growing sense of deprivation and exploitation in East Pakistan, and attributed all this as a new form of colonialism that had replaced British imperialism. Under these circumstances, the language controversy propelled forward with new momentum in 1952.

In January 1952, the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan submitted its recommendation for making Urdu as the only state language. This sparked off a wave of anger in East Pakistan with protests erupting everywhere. The representatives of various political and cultural organizations held a meeting on 31st January 1952, which was chaired by Maulana Bhashani. An All-Party Central Language Action Committee was formed with Kazi Ghulam Mahboob as its convener and Maulana Bhashani as its chairman. The Language Action Committee decided to call a strike and hold demonstrations and processions on 21st February 1952 throughout East Pakistan.104

102 P. Oldenburgg, op. cit.

103 Salik Siddiq, "Witness to surrender", Oxford University Press, 1997

As the preparations for demonstrations were underway, the Provincial Government imposed Section 144 in the city of Dacca, banning all assemblies, processions, and demonstrations. The Central Language Action Committee held a meeting on 20th February under the chairmanship of Abul Hashim to decide a strategy about the strike, but opinion was divided about the violation of Section 144. However, the students were determined to violate Section 144, and held a meeting as an act of its defiance on 21st February at the University campus. During the meeting, the Vice Chancellor and a few university teachers came and requested the students to avoid violating Section 144. These pleas were ignored and thousands of students from different schools and colleges of Dacca assembled at the Dacca University campus and raised slogans. The armed police that was alert and waiting outside the gate, baton-charged; not even sparing the female students. The students' retaliation of throwing brick bats was responded with tear gas shells by the police. The situation spiralled out of control with students proceeding towards the Assembly Hall inciting police firing.

The situation escalated towards the worst when the police arrested several students for violating Section 144. Enraged by the arrests, the students assembled around the Legislative Assembly and blocked the legislators' way, insisting them to present their demand to the Assembly. Meanwhile, a group of students sought to storm into the building, and catastrophe happened. The police opened fire killing three students and two other persons, opening the door of bloody unrest in Fast Pakistan. <sup>105</sup>

As the news of the killings spread, disorder erupted across the city. Shops, offices, and public transport were shut down and a general strike began. Inside the Provincial Assembly, some legislators requested the Chief Minister, Nurul Amin to visit wounded students in the hospital and to adjourn the session as a sign of mourning. On Nurul Amin's refusal, several other members went out and joined the students. Nurul Amin continued his stance for opposing the demand for Bengali in the Assembly. Next day, 22nd February dawned with gloom, a mourning procession turned out to pray for the victims, and demonstrated. The police and the army responded, resulting in several deaths, including that of a young man named Shafiur Rahman, while many others were injured and arrested. On 23rd February, a memorial was erected, at the spot where students had been killed. 106

104 Lawrence Ziring, "The Ayub Khan era: Politics of Pakistan, 1958-1969", Syracuse University Press, 1971 105 Ibid

Since 1952, 21st February has been observed every year to commemorate the martyrs of the language movement. The recent declaration by UNESCO for declaring 21st February as the International Mother Language Day is a clear recognition of the inspiring universal message of the Bengali language movement. UNESCO adopted a resolution on 17th November1999 to declare 21st February as the International Mother Language Day. It is an honour bestowed by the international community on the language movement of former East Pakistan, and present-day Bangladesh. 107

Solving the Language Issue

Political tensions came ahead of the elections of the provincial assembly of East Pakistan in 1954. The government wanted to ease the tension and Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra by resolving the issue gave official recognition to Bengali in a Muslim League meeting. This decision was followed by a major wave of unrest as other ethnic groups also sought recognition of their regional languages. Supporters of Urdu, such as Maulvi Abdul Haq, Baba-eUrdu, condemned any proposal to grant official status to Bengali. He led a large rally of people to protest against Muslim League's decision. 108

After the elections, the United Front came to power in East Pakistan and the anniversary of language martyrs was observed on 21st February 1954. This was achieved for the first time in an honourable manner and in a peaceful atmosphere. The government supported a major project to construct a new 'Shaheed Minar'. The session of the Constituent Assembly was stopped for five minutes to express condolences for the slain students. Major rallies were organised by Bengali leaders, while all public offices and businesses remained closed. Bengali was recognised as the second official language of Pakistan on 29 February 1956, and Article 214(1) of the Constitution of Pakistan was amended as:

106 K. M. Arif, Khaki Shadows: Pakistan 1947-1997, Oxford University Press, 1999

107 Ibid

108 Maulvi Abdal-Haq, Pakistan mein Urdu ka alamiyya, 1956.

Although the question of official languages was settled in 1956, the aura of discontent amongst the Bengalis continued to grow. In the dismemberment of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh, the language issue had a huge role to play. But it was not an issue that could not have been solved earlier. Urdu was actually the first language of just 5 per cent of Pakistanis, and Mr Jinnah's decision to make it the official language of Pakistan was for the purpose of bringing all Pakistanis together under one language. This is perhaps the most telling of the reasons behind Urdu being given preference as the national language of Pakistan. The Bengalis were never made to realize this and the language issue was allowed to grow into an 'us versus them' issue. Similarly, even if this was not enough, the establishment had plenty of chances to solve the issue before it took a violent turn. That violence remained etched into the memories of the Bengalis; even though the language issue was solved in 1956 it continued as fodder to the fire of Bengali feelings of injustice and discontent with the West Pakistanis and the Central Government.

#### The Role of Political Parties in Dismemberment

No National Party

The dismemberment of Pakistan cannot be blamed on linguistic and cultural issues alone. The separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan was, for a large part, the result of downright incompetence and inability of the Pakistani political system to handle the situations that confronted it. This was in turn the culmination of the failure of Pakistan's prominent leaders, who were more concerned with their personal stakes. Their total disregard and ineptitude in understanding the importance of establishing strong political institutions and unity amongst the various groups of people that inhabit Pakistan, proved to be the perfect recipe for political chaos and upheaval.

# 109 K. M. Arif, Khaki Shadows: Pakistan 1947-1997, Oxford University Press.

Pakistan's geographical composition was in itself quite complex, with a thousand miles of hostile India lying between the two parts, thus, maintaining strong political link was essential and paramount. This proved to be a gargantuan task as the two wings had little in common in terms of demography, culture, and geography.

Political parties must exist to inculcate into and foster harmonious relations among the diverse units of a country. Political parties are required to bring the distinctive political elements of different regions together on the basis of a common national ideology. Consequently, these regions establish close ties with the federation, creating crucial national unity. It is these national political parties that guarantee national integration and become an agent of unity among the regions and provinces. History remains witness to the dismal and complete failure of the political parties of Pakistan to achieve this. There was no national political party including the Muslim League that came to the fore, after the death of Mr Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, leaving a political vacuum which required to be filled in order to kill the seeds of separatism growing in East Pakistan.

Two limitations of the Pakistani leadership of the political parties affected the unity of Pakistan to a large extent. Firstly, in a political culture where the growth of political parties was barred for long periods of time, the development of a national political party was a neglected area that remained ineptly ignored by the Pakistani leadership. The position of the Pakistan Muslim League, the only national political party at the time of the establishment of Pakistan, had weakened in the course of time with no party emerging to fill the void. Secondly, the parties were always secondary to their leaders, proof that the political leaders of the time were very much responsible for the debacle of East Pakistan.

In Pakistan, regional political parties had become more powerful than the national parties. This proved to be injurious to the state, since the regional parties had no national stakes or following in other regions. These regional political parties, having no following and organisation in other regions, won the elections in their respective areas and there was no national party that could unite the people of the country together.

The obvious division between the political parties of the two wings of Pakistan was never more evident than in elections held on 7th December 1970, for 300 seats of National Assembly of Pakistan, the East Pakistan based Awami League secured 160 out of 162 East Wing's seats. No West Pakistan based party including Pakistan Peoples Party, the largest party of West Pakistan and second largest seat-winner in the National Assembly, could win a single seat in East Pakistan. This division in the political parties proved as a crisis point that concluded in the dismemberment of Pakistan.

Failures of the Pakistan Muslim League

Pakistan Muslim League (PML), being the founder-party of Pakistan, had a national identity at the time of independence. Its achieved independence of Pakistan was no small feat. PML had the unique status of being the only party in Pakistan in what was virtually a one-party state. Almost every figure of importance on both the central and provincial governments was its member. Fifty-seven of the seventy-four members of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan were affiliated with the PML and it was inconceivable that a government could be formed without its support.

PML was organized on a national scale with a full paraphernalia of secretariats, working committees and publicity with corresponding organisations at the provincial level sending delegates to the AllPakistan Muslim League Council. But its organisation was loose, unwieldy, and subject to continual internal stress. And it lacked a strong structure to control and enforce discipline over its regional supporters. For expansion of the party's influence, its central leadership was completely dependent on the provincial leaders for support.

PML enjoyed the mass support of the people after Partition which could have provided any leader a strong backing,, if he had worked on the organisation of the Party. However, this never happened.

PML remained the ruling party in the Centre for more than seven years after the establishment of Pakistan. With the creation of Pakistan, the All- India Muslim League assumed power in the new state, as Mr Jinnah became the first Governor General and Liaquat Ali Khan became the general secretary and leader of the League parliamentary party. After the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin was government elected as the Prime Minister as well as the party leader. When his ministry was dismissed in April 1953 by Ghulam Muhammad, the new Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra was elected the Party's president on 18th October, 1953. Muslim League thus remained in power till October, 1954 when the first Constituent Assembly was dissolved. PML also remained the ruling party in the provinces in one way or the other till 1954.

# 110 Political Affairs Department UK 'Political Parties in Pakistan'

But the leadership of PML, in the lust for power, did not learn the principles of party organisation. There can be little honest disagreement with Suhrawardy's

indictment of the PML as 'a ruthless oligarchy in which the interests of the country, the views of the people and canons of justice and fair play were being brushed aside in the struggle for power.' <sup>111</sup> The party often remained leadercentred. The party's council remained in the state of lethargy, meeting only four times during the six important years from 1949 to 1955, and that too with little effect. <sup>112</sup>

In the early months of Pakistan's life, both Mr Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan exercised a close control over the policy of the party to ensure that it was in line with the government policy. This was perhaps necessary at that time when Pakistan was an infant state requiring a strong hand to guide its years of infancy. But, still, in February 1948, an organizing committee was appointed to supervise the work of restructuring the PML with Chaudhry Khaliq uz Zaman as the Chief Organizer.

Chaudhry Khaliq uz Zaman had little influence or respect as a leader, with only a reputation for intrigue in his political repertoire. He failed to transform and regroup the party from being a group of freedom fighters to a fully functional and organized political party which could bind the masses together. His efforts were seen as mere political manoeuvring, between him and different leaders across the provinces and the centre. 113

The PML leadership quickly managed to lose mass support in East Pakistan, the most populous province of Pakistan. This misfortune germinated with the action of limiting of the PML membership there. The PML leaders disbanded the party in East Bengal excusing the division of Bengal. They formed an ad hoc committee with their own band of people and kept the membership books for the new PML under their own control. Maulana Akram Khan, the provincial organizer of the Muslim League, managed to restrict the membership of PML in East Pakistan. This has been confirmed by Mahmud Ali, who was at the time the President of the East Pakistan Youth League. 114 Although the purpose of this is not quite clear, but it is assumed that East Pakistani membership was curtailed so as to establish the superiority of West Pakistanis, especially the Punjabis within the PML ranks.

- 111 Mazhar Ali, Pakistan First Twelve Years, Pakistan Times, 10 November 1953
- 112 Kokab, Rizwan Ullah, and Massarrat Abid. "A Factor in East Pakistan's Separation: Political Parties or Leadership." Pakistan Vision 14.1 (2013): 1.
- 113 Ibid

PML in East Pakistan was divided into three major factions from before independence, i.e. the Nazimuddin faction, the Fazlul Haq faction, and the Suhrawardy faction. These factions remained even after 1947. The Nazimuddin faction ultimately took hold over the party organisation, successfully securing positions in the Central League. While the Suhrawardy faction, with its organizational capability enjoyed authority over the mobilized urban intellects, especially the students of East Pakistan. Contrarily, though, the Fazlul Haq faction in spite of its organizational weakness possessed the mass support of Bengalis. These two factions experienced a falling out with the central PML hierarchy, over the issue of Bengal's political autonomy. Another group led by Maulana Bhashani, which had its main strength in Assam and Sylhet, broke away from the PML in February 1948, due to the appointment of Maulana Akram Khan as the provincial organizer. 115 Maulana Bhashani later formed the historically notorious Awami Muslim League in 1949 as stated earlier.

The parting of the major factions of the PML severely weakened it in Pakistan. On the other hand, Khawaja Nazimuddin secured an amendment to the PML's constitution that allowed him to become the President of PML again, otherwise he would have been disqualified for this appointment. During his tenure as the president of the party, he was neither able to establish a properly functioning Working Committee nor to impose his will in the factional clashes of the provincial branches of the League.

The institutional foundation of the PML was further undermined when in a meeting at Dacca in October 1952, presided over by Khawaja Nazimuddin, the provision for the annual election of the office bearers was removed, and they were given tenures of 3 years. Thus, office bearers could continue enjoying the privileges of the party offices for a longer period without any mandate from the party members.

114 Badruddin Umar, The Emergence of Bangladesh, Oxford University Press, 2004 115 Rafique Afzal, Political Parties

The PML's influence in East Pakistan also decreased due to a fundamental amendment adopted in PML's constitution in the meeting of 1952. This amendment was adopted after heated discussions amongst the party members. This amendment propagated the representation of various provinces in the central council of the party on the principle of parity on the basis of population between East and West Pakistan. Through this formula, the quota for East Pakistan was fixed at 327 members, Punjab 184, NWFP 58, Sindh and Khairpur 45, the Bahawalpur state 18, and for Balochistan, and Karachi 11. 116

In East Pakistan, the Muslim League suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the new United Front in the provincial elections of 1954, despite keeping its promise to the peasants to abolish zamindari, which it did in 1950. The United Front was a coalition, consisting of the Awami Muslim League, the Krishak Praja Party, the Ganatantri Dal (Democratic Party) and Nizam-e-Islam. The coalition was led by three major Bengali populist leaders A.K. Fazlul Haq, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and Maulana Bhashani. The United Front parties won 223 seats out of 309, with the Awami League winning 143. The East Pakistani political elite had discovered that the Muslim League was not receptive to its demands for more autonomy for East Pakistan, and began to stand for itself. This political assertion was however, quickly suppressed by the central bureaucracy, which dismissed the Legislative Assembly and imposed Governor's Rule. 117

Not only did the party's heads of the state damage the reputation and image of the League, other ruling personalities also played a role in denting the national party. Considerable damage to the party took place at the formation of the Republican Party by Chief Minister of West Pakistan, Dr Khan Sahib, under the influence of the President of Pakistan, General Iskandar Mirza. The power-seeking leaders, preferred to leave the PML when the Central Working Committee of the party ordered the ministers in the West Pakistan cabinet of Dr. Khan Sahib to resign or be expelled from the party. PML was hit hard because it no longer had popular support and the leaders who were leaving the party did not fear from any backlash from the workers within the party and their following in general. And those who remained in the party did not have the capability to make it a national force again.

- 116 Subrata Kumar Mitra, Mike Enskat, and Clemens Spiess, "Political Parties in South Asia", Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004
- 117 Salahuddin Ahmad, Bangladesh: Past and Present

Although, West Pakistan comprised of four provinces, the population of East Pakistan alone at that time was greater. If the provinces had equal weight in the legislature it would be unfair for the East, and if they had representation according to their population, the economically dominant West, with its centres of bureaucratic and military power, would feel threatened. The closest Pakistan came to a constitutional settlement was under the Bogra Formula put forward by Mohammed Ali Bogra, the third Prime Minister of Pakistan and a Bengali from East Pakistan, on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1953.

Under this formula, there would be a bicameral legislature with an Upper House with 50 seats, 10 from each province. There would also be a Lower House

with 300 seats in proportion to population, so that East Pakistan would have 165. This formula then gave East and West Pakistan exactly the same number of seats in the two houses added together. The president and prime minister would also have to be from different wings. The plan was popular but was put to rest by the military and the bureaucracy, who conspired to dissolve the Constituent Assembly in 1953, eventually led to the military takeover of 1958. 118

In October 1958, Martial Law was enforced in Pakistan and the political parties were banned. The imposition of the martial law curtailed the organizational freedom to operate political organizations, establishing an authoritarian ruling coalition. One effect of this intervention was that for a decade the political settlement in Pakistan ensured a relatively favourable growth-stability trade-off with state-led industrialization. This allowed the development of a home-grown capitalist class in a country that was virtually non-industrial in 1947. But the new capitalists and the bureaucratic beneficiaries of the state-led development strategy were mostly from West Pakistan. This, together with a number of other factors gradually undermined the authoritarian ruling coalition.

#### 118 Mushtaq H. Khan, Bangladesh: Partitions, Nationalisms and Legacies for State Building, Department of Economics, University of London, 2010

After the revival of political parties in 1962, the Convention Muslim League was formed under the patronage of the President of Pakistan General Muhammad Ayub Khan. General Ayub had agreed, to revive the party politics as a political compulsion. Therefore, when he was elected party president in May 1963, he did not desire personally to really do anything for the party, justifying his autonomous, independent political campaign in the 1965 presidential election in spite of running for elections on the party ticket. He issued an independent election manifesto, which the party later adopted. He waged the campaign mainly on his personal record and performance, and not on the party's record. 119

In the arrangement of the affairs of the Convention Muslim League, Ayub Khan as the president of the party, was the main driving force and the party was secondary to his personality. The members of almost all important Committees of Convention Muslim League were nominated by the President himself. In East Pakistan, the party was divided into two factions; one led by the Governor, Monem Khan, while the other led by his opponents. Intra-party feuds often made the party ineffective in local elections. Moreover, their support was based not on ideological principles but on the personal gain they could derive from the regime. Additionally, the Convention Muslim League had been thoroughly discredited in East Pakistan. Thus the party's unity and claim to national character depended on Ayub. Following Ayub's downfall, his party was split into three factions.

Convention Muslim League did not get the image of a national party even though its programme was based on the unity of the country. The party was always used by its leaders to further their own cause. Thus, even though it was the only national party, it could never be utilised for the purpose of uniting the country.

In 1962, when the Council Muslim League (CML), a faction of the Muslim League formed by a majority of old PML leaders who had left the Convention League, was revived there was a certain amount of disagreement between the principal leaders of the party and the minor figures who had never been conspicuous for loyalty. In the elections of the party in 1967, Mumtaz Daulatana won the presidency of CML and all of his nominees were elected for other offices, amidst the allegations of rigging. All of the other three candidates for the presidency of the party, i.e. Qayyum Khan, Shaukat Hayat and Khawaja Safdar gradually left the CML. Qayyum Khan and Khawaja Safdar established their own Leagues. In this way, the one and only national party was completely dismantled and divided.120

119 Rounaq Jahan, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration,

The Organizational Problems of the Parties

After the virtual demise of the PML, no party could emerge with a national mandate. The political leaders made very few efforts to develop the political parties on a national level. The possibilities to form a national opposition party, Jinnah Awami Muslim League, during early fifties was dissolved because Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and his Punjabi supporters objected to the nomination of the East Pakistani Awami League members to the Working Committee of the party, as they did not accept the former as part of the parent body of the party. 121

The East Pakistan Awami League during 1960s realized that it must either become a 'national party' on paper, like the Convention Muslim League and the Council Muslim League, or re-establish its mass contact and risk forfeiting all claims to being a national party. It chose the latter. The Awami League's national president Nasrullah chose the latter. The Awami League's national president Nasrullah point programme, which resulted in a final rift and his leaving the party and forming the Pakistan Democratic Movement. 122

The National Awami Party could have functioned as a national party. Its leadership included nationally-known figures from both wings, who had mass support behind them. In East Pakistan, it had Maulana Bhashani and in West Pakistan, it had Abdul Gaffar Khan, Pir of Manki Sharif, Mian Iftikharuddin, G.M. Syed and Mahmood ul Haq Usmani representing all the provinces of Pakistan. But there was no unity of purpose in the party after its revival in 1964. The split portions of the Party could not be useful for national purposes, because of the lack of will for unity. Another East Pakistani party, Nizam-i-Islam, remained regional from its foundation.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

121 Mushtaq Ahmad, "Politics without Social Change", Space Publishers, 1971

122 Ibio

During General Ayub's government, no political party developed as a national institution. The Jamaat-e-Islami, the Council Muslim League, and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) were largely West Pakistan-based. The Awami League was East Pakistan-based. The two factions of the National Awami Party, though had interregional organizations, remained fragmented and weak. The regime did not pay enough attention to building a national party of its own, and the policy of repression prevented other parties from developing into broad-based national organizations.

The 1970 elections showed that there was no national party which could claim to represent both the wings of united Pakistan. Awami League that won the elections in the Centre as well as in East Pakistan concentrated only in East Pakistan. It placed its candidates on all seats contested in East Pakistan, but chose to field very few candidates in West Pakistan. PPP, a party that emerged as the second largest party in the Centre and the majority party in West Pakistan, showed its complete indifference for East Pakistan during the process of nomination of its candidates. It did not file a single nomination paper from the Eastern wing, 123

HS Suhrawardy & Khawaja Nazimuddin

At this point it is pertinent to realize that the state of the political parties in Pakistan could have been much better, if free political activities had been allowed. If

this had happened, the East Pakistani leaders like HS Suhrawardy, Khawaja Nazimuddin and Nurul Amin could have easily established a national political party. HS Suhrawardy had rendered substantial services for the organisation of political parties for the cause of Muslims and the Pakistan Movement. He was the moving spirit behind the United Muslim Party, which was converted into the Muslim League in Bengal before independence.

In 1941, Suhrawardy had kept the masses consolidated in support of the League during the critical situation when A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq was dismissed from the League. Suhrawardy with the help of Abul Hashim took the League in Bengal to a level of membership that was more than the party's membership in all other provinces in combined India. In April 1946, he led the largest and the most enthusiastically welcomed contingent in Muslim League Legislators' Convention held in Delhi on 8th April 1946, where he moved a resolution for Pakistan through which ambiguities, of whatever kind existed in the Lahore Resolution (1940) were removed.

#### 123 Syed ShabbirHussain, Ayub, Bhutto and Zia (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000)

In 1949, when H.S. Suhrawardy's supporters had joined the Awami Muslim League, he tried to bring it within the framework of a national party. Suhrawardy, negating the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan, tried to establish links with the political workers of West Pakistan. In making substantial development to this direction, in March 1950, he formed the All-Pakistan Awami Muslim League.

In December 1952, in order to fulfil his desire to establish an allPakistan political party for the sake of the integration of Pakistan, Suhrawardy called a convention of the three parties - All-Pakistan Awami Muslim League, Mamdot's Jinnah Muslim League in Punjab and Pir of Manki Sharif's Awami League in the NWFP at Lahore and a new party, the All-Pakistan Jinnah Awami Muslim League. The Mamdot group departed from the All-Pakistan Awami Muslim League in 1953 and substantially weakened the party in West Pakistan.

Suhrawardy's efforts to establish a national Awami League and to make it form a coalition with the regional autonomists in both East and West Pakistan between 1953 and 1955 also failed due to lack of interest from other political and ruling leaders of Pakistan. 124 Then after the Martial Law of 1958, having tried to establish the National Democratic Front, Suhrawardy rejected the plea of Sheikh Mujib for the revival of the regional Awami League saying that he had given his word to the other leaders of the National Democratic Front and that he would not revive the party without consulting them. His attempts were nullified by his death on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1963.

H.S. Suhrawardy, despite being the chief executive of the biggest Muslim majority province and having rendered significant services to the All-India Muslim League, was not included in the Working Committee of the AIML during the critical period of 1945-7. Bengal was represented in this highest policymaking body of the League by Maulana Akram Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, or I.H. Isphahani. <sup>125</sup> After the creation of Pakistan he was barred from entering into East Pakistan and his membership of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was cancelled in March 1949. In May 1949, he was expelled from the Pakistan Muslim League.

#### 124 Rounag Jahan, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration

Suhrawardy's case is an example of how the Bengali nationalists were not co-opted, as the Pakistani leadership did in the case of Pakhtun separatist challenge. This failure in co-optation can also be marked in the study of other high-ranked leaders like Fazlul Haq, Sheikh Mujib and Maulana Bhashani. The Awami League as a party could have been co-opted at least on two occasions, when Suhrawardy was working as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1957, and when in 1970, it won the majority seats in the elections. The leadership of Pakistan missed both of these chances and failed to appease the growing Bengali Separatist Movement. It, in fact, suited the West Pakistan establishment that parties were increasingly regionalised and thus, there were no serious attempts made to co-opt the Bengali nationalists.

Khawaja Nazimuddin too could not help in transforming the Muslim League into a national party. He could not play any significant role in the development of PML during the time when he was the Prime Minister of Pakistan as well as the president of the party. However, during the Ayub-era, old-style Muslim Leaguers, who objected to the government hijacking of the League nomenclature, formed a separate Council Muslim League, which was led by Khawaja Nazimuddin.

Khawaja Nazimuddin emerged from retirement to rally support for the Council Muslim League in West Pakistan in January 1963. The receptions accorded to him at Lahore and along the route from Rawalpindi to Peshawar were reminiscent of the days immediately preceding independence, when the Muslim League's popularity was at its height. Khawaja Nazimuddin died in 1964, leaving Nurul Amin in control of the party along with the mammoth task of forming a national political party without him or Suhrawardy. 126

125 Khalid bin Sayeed, Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948, Pakistan Publishing House, 1960

126 Maleeha Lodhi, "Bhutto, The Pakistan People's Party and Political Development in Maleeha Lodhi, "Bhutto, The Pakistan People's Party and Political Development in 1977", University of London, 1980

Political Suppression Killed the Political Parties

During the democratic period of 1947-58 various suppressive steps were taken against different political parties. The leaders of the ruling Pakistan Muslim League did not like other parties taking a stand against them. The incident of the Muslim League workers disrupting the initiation of a meeting of the Awami Muslim League in East Pakistan is the best example of the prevalent suppressive political culture. The quelling measures utilized to curb the Communist Party of Pakistan in 1947 is another example. After armed clashes with the communists in 1949-50, the government tried to curb their influence by keeping its activities under tight supervision. The League did not try to take on the party on political grounds, rather as a final resort the government banned the party on  $4^{th}$  July 1954. 127

Another example of the suppression by the government against political parties during 1950s can be seen from the treatment of the Ganatantri Dal, a party established in January 1953 in East Pakistan. The party called for the abolition of the *zamindari* system without compensation, release of political prisoners, adoption of Bengali as a national language, and an independent foreign policy. In order to obscure the activities of the party, its offices were often searched and ransacked by the police. Many members of the party were arrested and were left to languish in jail until the parliamentary government in East Pakistan was restored in June 1955.128

These actions against the political parties handicapped the development of a free political culture, in which the political parties could have nurtured and in turn

strengthened the political system. While suppressing the ideologically different political parties, the ruling leaders of the country forgot that in the democratic federal political system the existence of federal political parties is not only a solution for integration among different federal units but also guarantees the security of a democratic set-up.

This intolerant culture of the political parties intensified under the martial law of 1958. Political parties were banned. Thousands of political workers and many prominent leaders of political parties were arrested and for four years (1958 to 1962), political activities in Pakistan were virtually silenced. President General Ayub had declared on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1959 that the political parties would be liberated after launching of the constitution, but till 21st June 1962, he rendered political parties useless.129

127 Badruddin Umar, Emergence of Bangladesh 128 Zarina Salamat, Pakistan 1947-58

The encumbered political culture of the Ayub era did not allow the political parties to establish themselves nationally. The leaders also were less interested in organizing any national party, which is a strong indicator of the dismemberment process and national disintegration during Ayub's regime. The regional parties flourished and leaders were unable to stop this trend to such an extent that one of the two largest political parties appearing in the elections of 1970, the PPP, had to terminate the East Pakistan branch in March 1969. Although, it had been reported that the PPP branch in East Pakistan had itself severed connections with the party in West Pakistan. <sup>130</sup>

President Ayub held this view against the political parties, notwithstanding pressure from prominent cabinet ministers, Muhammad Ali Bogra and a few others, who argued that political parties when regulated by law would provide an organizational framework for mass mobilization on behalf of the government. As a consequence of President Ayub's misconception, that suppression of regional political parties could save the unity of the country, his regime mainly targetted the National Awami Party and the East Pakistan Awami League. A large number of leftist workers and intellectuals suffered imprisonment and lost their livelihoods during this era.131

The political parties were allowed to operate only when strict restrictions were imposed under the Political Organization Ordinance in May 1962. The politicians were disqualified from becoming members or office holders of any political party till a decision was taken in the National Assembly. Following this, the Political Parties Bill 1962 was passed, according to which no political party could be formed which would work and propagate against Islamic principles and Pakistan's integrity.

The restrictions on EBDO (Elected Bodies Disqualification Order of 1959) leaders also did not support the free functioning of the political parties. H.S. Suhrawardy had demanded that political parties should not be revived in the absence of EBDOed or arrested leaders but to no avail. A proper climate for the functioning of political parties was so insistent on the part of political-minded East Pakistanis that Nurul Amin, former Chief Minister of East Pakistan, felt that he had no alternative but to demand the lifting of restrictions from political leaders along with the revival of political parties to ensure his political future. He was offered the governorship of East Pakistan which he refused on the grounds of political parties having no real rights.132

129 Pakistan Crises, David Loshak, Heinemann, London, 1971

130 Ibid

131 Zaheer, Separation of East Pakistan

The Leadership of Political Parties

From 1947 to 1971 in all the political parties of Pakistan, the authority was concentrated in a single leader. The significance of a party was in proportion to the significance of the leader. Often it was the leader who was important and not the principles for which the party stood. Power and personality were in fact personalised. There were too many 'important' figures and too few sensible ideas. Politics was intensely personal, and not doctrinaire. A group of about twenty individuals beginning from Mr Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan to Khawaja Nazimuddin, Ayub Khan, Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib, Qayyum Khan, Bhashani, etc. made all important political and governmental decisions at every level 133

In 1958, after two years of Republican Party's establishment, its constitution was very much on paper and the organizing committee whose life was to expire, still exercised all power and authority on the party's behalf. The party enjoyed undisputed patronage of and revolved around President General Iskandar Mirza, the Governor General and the President of Pakistan. Formally the party was founded by Dr Khan Sahib but Iskandar Mirza was pulling the strings. He wanted Dr Khan to continue as Chief Minister and moreover, the integration of his favourites. 134

The Muslim League (Qayyum) and the National Awami Party (Bhashani) were all factions of the parties, puppeteering for their leaders. Likewise, the Convention Muslim League was the puppet of Ayub Khan.

- 132 Mohammad H. R. Talukdar, ed., Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, The University Press, 1987
- 133 Keith Callard, Pakistan, A Political Study, George Allen & Unwind, 1957
- 134 K. K. Aziz, Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-58

There was a concentration of powers in the Jamaat-e-Islami too, and its *Ameer* exercised all the powers. The party organisation was highly centralised, with Maulana Maududi, the founder*ameer* (leader), had no time limit on his period of office. This unlimited tenure was said to be based on the teachings of the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. It was, however, up to the *ameer* to renounce his office if he felt that a person who was more capable than him had emerged in the Jamaat. He had a *Majlis-e-Shura* whose selection, initially, was left to his judgement. In organisational matters, the powers of the *ameer* were absolute, and he could remove even duly-elected local *ameer* s for the *maslihat-e-kulli* (collective good). Members of the Jamaat were enjoined to view disobedience to the *ameer* as a sin tantamount to that of disobeying God and the Prophet (PBUH).

In 1942, the Jamaat faced an internal crisis which led to the creation of a department of 'party organisation' (tanzim-e-Jamaat ) to verify each member's qualifications. After this, final approval for the registration of a member was vested in the ameer -e-Jamaat. The Jamaat had various departments generally under the direct control of the ameer . Moreover, the founder of the party, Maulana Maududi, remained the ameer from the foundation of the party until the breakup of Pakistan. Maulana Maududi enjoyed wide 'extra' constitutional powers, with an extremely authoritative disposition. The politics of the party revolved around one personality and other members who dared to oppose the status quo had to leave the party.135

In Z.A. Bhutto's PPP, which was established in November 1967, all of the four committees of the PPP constituted in the first convention were headed by

Bhutto while no other personality was even a member of all four committees. The PPP executive committee was nominated by Bhutto for the first time just a few days before the meeting for negotiations during the 1971 crisis. In essence, Bhutto was PPP and PPP was Bhutto.

The political culture in Pakistan was so weak that very few of the office-bearers in the parties were elected members and most were nominated. The trend of importing leadership from out of the party made the democratic process of parties even more sinister. Leaders were brought from outside and the parliamentary parties were forced to accept them. In 1953, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad brought Muhammad Ali Bogra and made him the leader of the Muslim League parliamentary party. The same year, Feroz Khan Noon was appointed as the leader of the Muslim League Punjab, replacing Mumtaz Daultana. Sardar Abdur Rashid replaced Qayyum Khan in NWFP. Dr Khan Sahib's place, on his death, was filled by his son Saadullah Khan. Even the PML leaders like Noon and Nurul Amin confronted the existing president of the party, Nazimuddin, to replace him with the imported Prime Minister, Bogra. 136

#### 135 Rounaq Jahan, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration

Like language and provincial autonomy, the absence of a nationwide party organisation was one of the factors that became instrumental in the successes of the Bengali separatist movement. The language demand was accepted to a large extent when Bengali language was endorsed as the second national language of Pakistan in the Constitution of 1956. The autonomy was a broader demand that changed into the separatist movement in the end. The leadership could have found some ease in addressing these demands if a nationwide political party had been working in Pakistan during the time.

The leaders of Pakistan used and damaged every political party through their domination over them individually. Regional parties were developed and national parties were discouraged. The Pakistan Muslim League's national status declined and the leaders could do nothing to save it. Very limited efforts were made to develop national parties in a well-organized manner, contrary to the organized regional political parties which could be seen developing in the growth of the Bengali Movement in East Pakistan.

The restrictions over the free development of the parties and domination of the leaders decreased the positive impact of the parties and increased the negative effects of the rise of incapable leaders. The leaders who could or tried to establish national political parties were blocked in many ways. In this way, the political parties vis-a-vis the leadership weakened and they could not help in restraining the strengthening separatist movement.

# 136 Aziz, Party Politics in Pakistan The Political Deprivation of East Pakistan

Feelings of political deprivation prevailed among the people of East Pakistan who felt that they were ruled by West Pakistan in general, and Punjab in particular, as the political power remained firmly in the hands of the Punjabis and the Muhajir elite of the West Pakistan. Despite the numerical superiority, East Pakistan was not given its share in the government due to the domination of old landlords and religious leaders, mainly from Punjab and Sindh in the Muslim League.137

East Pakistanis increased hatred for the central government inspired the formation of a coalition of main political parties under the banner of 'United Front', in which the Awami League and the Krishak Siramic Party were the principal players. Leaders of these parties collaborated, finding solace in their common grievances against the central government and matters concerning the nation as a whole. Notwithstanding their domination, the Muslim League lost support in East Pakistan during the election of 1954. It was a time when the politics of Pakistan was dominated by two groups of parties, each of which enjoyed hegemony in one or the other wing.

The plan for the formation of One Unit in West Pakistan was first spelt out on  $2^{nd}$  March 1949 by Malik Feroz Khan Noon on the floor of the first Constituent Assembly. The following day Begum Jehan Ara Shahnaz supported it, invoking a myriad of statements, for and against. Chaudhry Mohammed Ali, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Mumtaz Mohammad Khan and some other leaders were at the forefront to see the scheme implemented. The formation of One Unit finally happened during Muhammad Ali Bogra's reign under the eye of then Commander-in-Chief General Ayub Khan, converting the whole of West Pakistan into one province, strengthening the feeling of distrust in East Pakistan. This was seen as a dubious formula for changing the straightforward system of population-based representation that maintained the numerical superiority allowing the concentration of political power in East Pakistan, in West Pakistan's favour. The decision to merge four provinces in One Unit was made hastily without much consideration and implemented without adequate preparations. One Unit was seen as a counterbalance to the votes of East Pakistan.

#### 137 Salik Siddiq, Witness to surrender, Oxford University Press, 1997

Yahya Khan inherited this formula by which East and West had an equal number of seats in the National Assembly regardless of the numerical superiority of the Eastern Wing. Ironically, after the breakup of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh, the province of Punjab insisted that party position should now be decided on the basis of a straightforward vote. Punjab was sure of its superiority as Punjabis outnumbered the other ethnic groups, such as Sindhis, Pashtuns and Baloch. The overthrow of the civilian rule in 1958 and subsequently, the adoption of the new constitution formulated by Ayub Khan in 1962 intensified the unremitting marginalization of East Pakistan. The 1962 constitution made provisions for a highly centralized form of government, vesting all powers in the president by creating room in the legislation. It also placed the civil service and the military under the direct control of the president, curtailing the powers and functions of the provincial legislative assemblies. <sup>138</sup>

By that time, the Awami League had secured strength and popular support by absorbing the smaller parties of East Pakistan in itself. After Suhrawardy's death in 1963, the leadership of Awami League passed into the hands of Sheikh Mujib, who played a different but decisive role in the propulsion of the separatist movement.

Another factor that contributed to the intensification of resentment in East Pakistan was the rejection of those Bengali leaders for political appointment who had mass support. It had been pointed out that all East Pakistanis who were given cabinet appointments in the centre and governorship of the province, during Ayub regime, were civil servants, pro-government journalists or the defeated candidates of Muslim League in the provincial elections of 1954. During the military regimes of Ayub Khan, the Bengali Muslims were excluded from important decision-making levels of the government, as we will discuss in the following sections. <sup>139</sup>

# The Civil and Military Bureaucracy

It may be said that Pakistan was a nation built for bureaucrats. Democracy, although enshrined on paper, never existed in reality. A successful federation is one that paves way with mutual satisfaction of its various regions bringing cohesion to build the nation through unity. But instead of democracy, the government

of Pakistan largely relied on a system with a central focus of power. General Ayub Khan argued that this was essential for national integration. Instead of creating power, he concentrated power, which meant that in spite of his efforts for a centralization process, the real capabilities of the government did not increase much during his decade of rule from 1958-69.

138 Ibid

 $^{139}\,\mbox{Peiris}$  , G. H., Political conflict in Bangladesh, Ethnic Studies Report, Vol. 16, No.1,

1998

The bureaucratic elites mostly belonged to Punjab and Sindh. Most of the Muhajirs from India were also settled in West Pakistan and had sizeable assets to invest. It is not surprising that they made concentrated efforts to further the interests of their regions and their extended families (biradari). <sup>140</sup> The bureaucrats collaborated with each other for protection and patronage. Unfortunately, Bengalis did not fit into this nexus. The dismemberment of Pakistan had already been laid down through the policies of the West Pakistani bureaucrats, that largely ignored the people of the largest province of Pakistan.

After the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, the head of the state, Khawaja Nazimuddin, concentrated power in his office with the support of civil and military bureaucracy. This happened due to the absence of a cohesive national leadership and a consensus on constitutional norms. The above-mentioned were the repercussions of a weak political system, allowing the increased role of administrative and military power in decision-making. The majority of senior bureaucrats were from West Pakistan who opposed the decentralization of authority for self-preservation. This led to sectionalism and provincialism that became permanent features of politics, and led to the eventual dismemberment of the state.

Remaining true to its undemocratic nature, General Ayub's and General Yahya Khan's regimes were intolerant of any criticism. The bureaucracy and 'basic democracies' were a tool for the political exploitation of the masses to put selected people in power. It can be surmised that the political system of Pakistan, especially during the Ayub period, was in many ways not political but bureaucratic. The state elite which came to rule Pakistan primarily came from the top echelons of the military and the bureaucracy, with a collaborative relationship with the new industrial and commercial class. The state elites were mainly composed of the Punjabis, the Muhajirs and the Pashtuns. The Sindhis, the Baloch and the Bengalis were greatly under-represented. According to Herbert Feldman, "60 per cent of the army consisted of the Punjabis, 35 per cent were Pashtuns and other constituted the remaining 5 per cent." "141

 $^{140}\,\text{Talukdar}\,\text{Maniruzzaman}, \text{Group Interests in Pakistan Politics}, \text{Pacific Affaris}, \text{Vol 39}, 1966\text{-}67$ 

Table 1

Ethnic Origins of the Top Military Elite in 1964

Number Percent Punjabi 17 35.5

Pashtun 19 39.5 Muhajirs 11 23

Sindhis 0 0 Baloch 0 0 Bengalis 1 2 Total 48 100 Source: Tahir Amin (1988), Ethno National Movements of Pakistan, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad

From the above table it may be seen that East Bengal, which constituted over 50 per cent of the population of Pakistan, was represented by just 1 person in the Top Military Elite of the country during General Ayub's reign. Additionally, only 5 per cent, 16 per cent and 10 per cent of the officers in the army, air force and navy, respectively, were from East Pakistan, while the total Bengali representation in Pakistan military was less than 2 per cent. 142

By 1958, the Bengali demands for participation in the military had become both numerous and vociferous. They ranged from the shifting of the naval headquarters to East Pakistan to the raising of an autonomous Bengali paramilitary for East Pakistan's defence. No quota system was instituted to rectify the regional recruitment disparity. The Army, Navy and Air Force commands were firmly convinced that the Bengalis could not meet the physical standards required of all entrants of the armed forces, which in itself spoke volumes of how Bengalis were looked down upon by the West Pakistanis. According to a remark by a Punjabi general, General Yahya Khan, they were not meant to be soldiers. Moreover, it was asserted that their very nature made them unfit for war like activities. 143

141 Herbert Feldman, From Crisis to Crisis,:Pakistan1962-1969,Oxford University Press,

 $^{142}$  Hassan Askari Rizvi, The Military and Politics in Pakistan, Progressive Publishers, Lahore ,1974

In any case, regardless of the huge defence spending, East Pakistan received none of the benefits, such as contracts, purchasing and military supported jobs. The central bureaucracy was composed of 80 per cent of the West Pakistanis, mostly from Punjab and Sindh. This under representation of Bengalis in the military services led Mujib to suggest during the 1970 election campaign that East Pakistan would contribute 6 per cent of its taxes to the maintenance of the Pakistan Military.144

The Bengalis were similarly under-represented in the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP). The CSP officers did not reflect the majority that Bengalis had in terms of population.

#### Table 2

Representation in Central Superior Services of Pakistan during 1959-67

#### **Total West Pakistan East Pakistan**

**1959** 24 12 12

**1960** 31 19 12

**1961** 27 17 10

**1962** 27 15 12

**1963** 31 18 13

**1964** 33 19 14

**1965** 30 15 15

**1966** 30 16 14 **1967** 30 17 13

Source: Raunag Jehan, Pakistan Failure in National Integration, Columbia University Press, USA

The Bengali participation in the central policymaking institutions, commissions of inquiry, the central secretariat and the public cooperation was marginal. Out of 280 members of the various commissions of inquiry, only 75 (27 per cent) were from East Pakistan.<sup>145</sup>

143 Craig Baxter and others, Government and Politics in South Asia, Vanguard Books,
1988
144 Herbert Feldman, From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962-1969, Oxford University Press,
1972
145 Raunaq Jehan, Pakistan Failure in National Integration, Columbia University Press,

#### Table 3

#### East and West Pakistan's Representation in Class 1 officers in 1969 Division of CSP

Economic Affairs
Commerce
Finance
Agriculture
Industries
Cabinet division
Establishment Division
Planning, Information & Broad casting
Labour and social welfare
Defence

#### Total

#### West East Pakistan Pakistan

15 10 5 36 31 5

Source: Dr. Khawaja Alqama, Bengali Elites Perception of Pakistan, The Road to Disillusionment, Uneven Development or Ethnicity? 1995, P. 190

At the secretary level, all the officers until 1969 were from West Pakistan. The civil services had continued to play a decisive role in determining economic policies, while the military monopolized the formulation of defence policies. The location of the administrative authorities in West Pakistan meant a relief to the investors, as they would need less time to approach the government and could also manipulate more pressures as compared to their counterparts in East Pakistan.

The decision-making was an exclusive function of the President and his chosen advisors. Provincial autonomy, for all intents and purposes, was non-existent. No efforts were made to curtail the informal but extremely influential roles of the military and the civilian bureaucracy. The coup led by Ayub Khan further expanded the role of military.

The people of East Pakistan demanded parity in the civil service. They were convinced that the economic disparity could not be corrected unless a greater number of East Pakistanis were placed in senior positions in the Central Secretariat. There was a conspicuous Bengali absence in the civil services even in 1964, which is evident from the fact that there were only two Bengali officers who held the rank of acting secretaries. <sup>146</sup> West Pakistan not only hosted the central government but also held nearly 90 per cent of its positions.

East Pakistanis openly expressed their bitterness by claiming that they were being ruled by West Pakistanis. The gesture of the central government for restricting the elevation of Bengali Muslims to the higher ranks of civil and military services infuriated the Bengalis, as it was accepted as a denial of opportunities for their upward social mobility. The poison of discontent and frustration among the Bengalis became more potent with the removal of the leaders belonging to East Pakistan. They noticed that whenever one of them, such as Khawaja Nazimuddin, Muhammad Ali Bogra or Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he was swiftly deposed by the establishment, which was mainly from West Pakistan.

146 Talukdar Manniruzzama, Group Interests and Political Changes: Studies of Pakistan and Bangladesh, South Asian Publishers, 1982, p. 14

The Ayub regime did make some efforts to increase East Pakistani participation in the civil bureaucracy, by revising administrative autonomy and quota system in the selection of civil servants to benefit East Pakistan. Accordingly, 20 per cent of the vacancies were filled on the basis of merit, while the remaining 80 per cent were divided equally between East and West Pakistan. <sup>147</sup> The government practised redemption by correcting the disparities in the administrative services by posting East Pakistan's civil servants in their province and increasing their number in the civil service of Pakistan. In 1969, for the first time most of the key positions in the province were given to the East Pakistanis, with the hope that the Bengalis will attain and experience a sense of self-government which will help alleviate their grievances.

The Bengali demand was not merely for more representation at the Centre but also for a greater decentralization of power, empowering the Eastern wing to

be administratively autonomous. By 1966, the provincial secretariat, district and subdivisional offices were monopolized by the Bengalis. The top positions including those of the Finance Ministry, which were important for the allocation of resources, were occupied exclusively by the West Pakistani civil servants. 148 Bengalis were marginally represented in the entrepreneurial class, policymaking, and political support groups during Ayub's reign. It was a genuine Bengali belief that their province was deprived of the advantages it could have gained under the parliamentary form by virtue of its numerical majority. This bitterness helped in intensifying the Awami League's struggle for attaining maximum autonomy.

147 Sohail Mahmood, Bureaucracy in Pakistan, Progressive Publishers, 1990

The bureaucracy held a place of higher consideration, dealing with the public in an arrogant and whimsical manner. This generated animosity in the Bengali masses for the Punjabi 'high-handed' bureaucrats. These bureaucrats had awarded undeserved advantages to the President's family and other businessmen, making them obscenely rich at the cost of the greater public interests. This undermined the electoral process but satisfied Ayub's political advisors.

It is also important to note that regional parties became dominant in the Eastern wing even though the Awami League, National Awami Party and Nizam-e-lslam Party had tried to form a national alliance. The inability of the establishment to form a national party or a national coalition was an indicator of the problems in the federation of Pakistan, i.e. bureaucracy. Thus, in the absence of an effective political system, the bureaucracy seized de facto political power. The civil bureaucracy had played a decisive role in the policy formulation and execution. It readily filled the vacuum created by the lack of strong non-parochial leadership and in the process politicised itself and discarded the politicians as superfluous and as hindrances to modernization. 149

With all of this being said, it is important to understand the importance of the civil-military bureaucracy. The bureaucracy was the primary executive branch and the legislative branch of the government. The Ayub regime also utilized civil servants for winning elections of the Provincial and National Assemblies. In this way, the CSPs had developed into a ruling institution which the opposition wanted it to be disbanded. The bureaucracy too, had little patience with the opponents of the system. The military-bureaucratic elite frequently used extreme authoritarian measures to quell any opposition, such as the action against the United Front in the 1950s. 150

They ruled through a highly-centralized administration in which they were powerful actors. The federal government had a natural tendency to attract business, commerce, banking, and industry. In Pakistan there had been a much larger influx of refugee entrepreneurship and capital from India to West Pakistan, than to East Pakistan. The advantage of hosting the federal government was great in West Pakistan in view of the hold it had over the economic life of the country.

149 Lawrance Ziring, Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development, WM Dawson and Sons, England, 1980

#### The Role of Private Investors In Creating A Divide

It is also very important to note that private investment was concentrated mainly in West Pakistan. East Pakistan was often ignored even by its own businessman for various reasons, for example, better infrastructure and access to all the prominent officials and ministries, which was much easier in the West. Keeping in consideration that private investment has a higher rate of return than public investment (discussed in the next section), the economic disparity between the two wings rose sharply in the late 50s and 60s.

During the 60s, the public sector spending and development in East Pakistan increased sharply, but the private sector investment remained low and worked against the Eastern Wing. A revolution had occurred in the agricultural sector of West Pakistan, to which its growth rate of 4.8 per cent during the 60s is a testament. In contrast, the agricultural growth rate of East Pakistan was just 3.1 per cent. 151

During 1969-70, things did not improve. The private sector development in East Pakistan was just 30 per cent of its total development spending, as compared to the 60 per cent in West Pakistan. Public sector investment always plays a periphery role in the actual development of a state, with private sector investment being the actual engine of growth. This lack of private sector investment was the reason of the deflated growth rate of East Pakistan.

Pakistan had little resources of its own and leaned heavily on external sources for funds in the form of aid. The table below explains just how vast the difference in Net Resource Inflows was between East and West Pakistan.

<sup>151</sup> Report on the Panel of Economists prepared under order from President Yahya Khan, 1970

#### Table 4

Net Resource Inflowinto East and West Pakistan

(Rs. in million) Period East Pakistan West Pakistan 1961-62 347 1671 1962-63 488 1607 1963-64 797 1864 1964-65 950 2531

Second Plan (4 years) 2582 7673 1965-66 736 1853 1966-67 814 2088 1967-68 862 2103 1968-69 1016 1208

Source: Report on the Panel of Economists prepared under the order from President Yahya Khan, 1970

The main part of the foreign resources remained in West Pakistan with East Pakistan not receiving an adequate share in the net inflow of external assistance into Pakistan.

#### **Economic Deprivation and Exploitation**

There was a growing sense of deprivation and exploitation in East Pakistan, with resentments peaking with East Pakistanis feeling of being colonized by the West Pakistani imperialism. East Pakistanis felt victimized by their new 'masters'. The language issue had made the people of the Eastern wing more sensitive to social, economic, and political deprivation at the hands of the central government. They complained about unequal growth and development between both the wings, and the criticism was mostly directed towards Punjab and Sindh. East Pakistan, which accounted for 55 per cent of the population and generated

<sup>148</sup> Raunaq Jehan, Ten Years of Ayub Khan and the Problem of National Integration, Journal of Comparative Administration, 1983

<sup>150</sup> Charless H. Kennedy, Bureaceacy in Pakistan Oxford University Press, 1987

the bulk of foreign exchange earnings, received a much smaller share of the government revenues. 152 It may be observed from the table below that the disparity of per capita income between the West and East continued to grow till 1969-70.

Per Capita GDP of East and West Pakistan at Constant Prices Per Capita GDP Per Capita East Pak (Rs.) GDP West Pak

**1959-60** 269 355 **1960-61** 277 363 **1961-62** 286 376 West-East Disparity Disparity Index Ratio 1.32 100 1.31 97 1.31 97 **1962-63** 277 393 1.42 131 **1963-64** 299 408 1.36 113 **1964-65** 293 426 1.45 141 **1965-66** 295 427 1.45 141 **1966-67** 290 448 1.54 169 **1967-68** 307 468 1.52 163 **1968-69** 312 490 1.57 178

1969-70 314 504 1.61 191 Growth over 17% 42%

Source: Economic Disparities Between East and West Pakistan, Government of Pakistan for Planning Department

### <sup>152</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, Pakistan: history and politics 1947-1971, Oxford University Press, 2001

Ayub Khan celebrated his ten-year tenure as a 'Decade of Development' in 1968. This celebration was perceived as a slap on the face of East Pakistan. Ayub's successor, Yahya Khan, increased the share of development expenditures from 37 per cent in the third five-year Plan to 52.5 per cent in the fourth five-year Plan. But there were still great disparities in terms of resource allocation and sector wise expenditure. This may be observed in the table below:

#### Table 6

Revenue and Development Expenditure in East and West Pakistan (in crores of Rs.)

Period Revenue Expenditure

#### **WEST PAKISTAN Development Expenditure**

1950-55 720 1955-60 898 1960-65 1284 1960-70 2223

#### Period Revenue Expenditure

#### **EAST PAKISTAN Development Expenditure**

#### Development Expenditure as percentage of total Pakistan Exp.

80% 74% 68% 64%

#### Development Expenditure as percentage of total Pakistan Exp.

20% 26% 32% 36%

Source: Pakistan Ministry of Economic Affairs, CSO, Karachi, 1974

The economic prospects were of higher considerations in East Pakistan, with its substantially higher population density, greater vulnerability to natural disasters, lower levels of productivity, income and consumption, the almost total absence of an industrial base and extreme backwardness of economic

#### infrastructure.

East Pakistan was generating about 60 per cent of the country's export earnings and in turn receiving only about 30 per cent of the national imports. In addition, it was estimated that East Pakistan had been suffering from a constant deficit in trade between the two wings since independence, which increased from an annual average of Rs. 162 million, in the early 1950s to about Rs. 425 million in the 1960s. Total amount of foreign aid received from 1948-49 to 1968-69 valved about the Rs. 61.6 billion, and East Pakistan got 31.4 per cent only.153

## **Table 7 Actual Imports** (in million Rupees) **Period**

West Pakistan East Pakistan Value Percentage Value Percentage 1957-58 1,314 64 736 36 1958-59 1,025 65 554 35 1959-60 1,806 73 655 27 1960-61 2,173 68 1,015 32 1961-62 2,236 72 873 28 1962-63 2,800 73 1,019 27 1963-64 2,982 67 1,449 33 1964-65 3,672 68 1,702 32

Source: Bhanwar Singh, Industrial Growth in Pakistan, A fiction or a reality, Rajastan University Press, 1971, p 76-77

During Ayub Khan's regime (1958 -69), wealth was concentrated in the hands of a small group of West Pakistani entrepreneurs who came to constitute a politically and economically powerful elite class. Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, the discriminatory policies and practices damaged the pace of economic progress in East Pakistan, which not only increased disparities but also widened the gap between the two wings.

The Bengalis advocated for an economic program in which each wing was to control all income from regional and foreign sources, and to contribute its share to the Centre for catering to the foreign affairs, general administration and defence. The central government paid no attention to this demand of articulating a separate framework for East Pakistan's development planning. 154

By early 1960s, the agitation for the economic autonomy of East Pakistan had taken the form of the earlier demand of language and autonomy. Generally, it became apparent with the passage of time that macro-economic policies of the central government were not only discriminatory but also exploitative, producing a negative impact on the economy of East Pakistan.

153 Sobhan Rehman, Bangladesh: Problems of Governance, Konark Publishers, 1993 154 Ibid.



21st March 1948: Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan, addressed a meeting at the Racecourse Maidan, Dhaka. Jinnah was accorded a civic reception in that meeting, where he announced "Urdu, only Urdu shall be the state Language of Pakistan".





21st February, 1954. Rally on the roads of Dhaka led by Ataur Rahman Khan and Oli Ahmed on the





21st February, 1954. Rally on the roads of Dhaka led by Ataur Rahman Khan and Oli Ahmed on the









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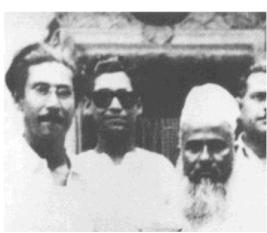
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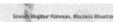














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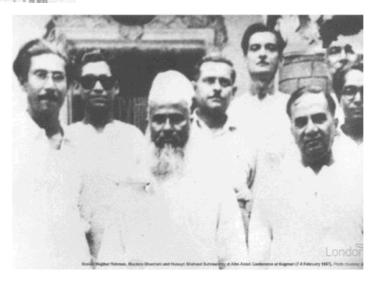
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## CONSTITUTION ABROGAT

Martial Law all over the country POLITICAL PARTIES **ABOLISHED** 

Parliament, legislatures and cabinets dismissed

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS ORDERED

President's directive to meet food shortage



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# COUNTRY PUT UNDER MARTIAL AW: CONSTITUTION ABROGATED

25 Martial Law Regulations issued

Offences, punishments and procedure listed

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Martial Law Orders

Ayub quits: Yahya becomes Chief ML Administrator

Assemblies, Ministers, Governors defunct

RAWALPINDI, March 25: Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan today stepped down as President of Pakistan and handed over power to Army chef General Agha Mohammat Yalya Khan who placed the country under Martial Law with komediate effect.

The 32-year-sid General, in a proclamation issued as Chief Martial Law Administrator announced the atrogation of the Constitution and dissolution of the National Assembly and the two Pravincial Assemblies, Members of the President's Council of Ministers and the two newly-appointed Provincial Governors coased to hold their offices under the preclamation.

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No other recourse was left, says Ayub Call for co-operation with Armed Forces

BAWALPINAL March 25: Pressort Monamma yab Khan today amounted he was stepling dow od handing ever power to the Arry Chien A. M. Yahya Khan.

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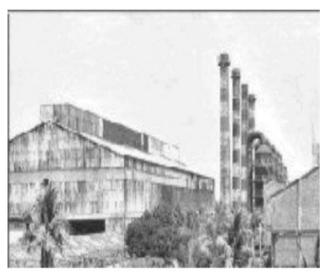
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Ayub's letter
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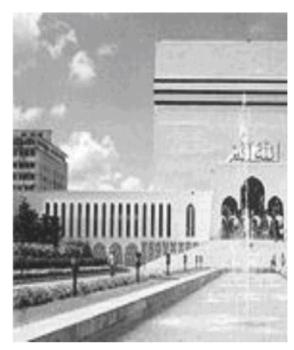














































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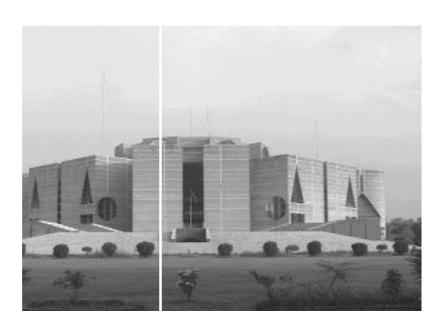






















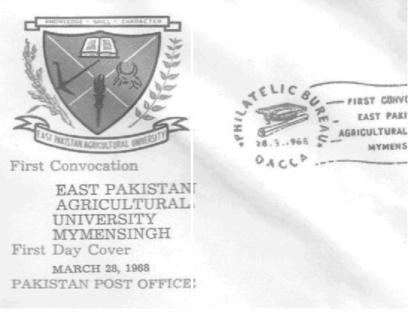




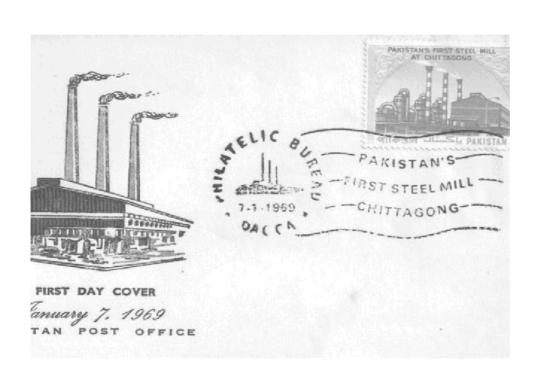


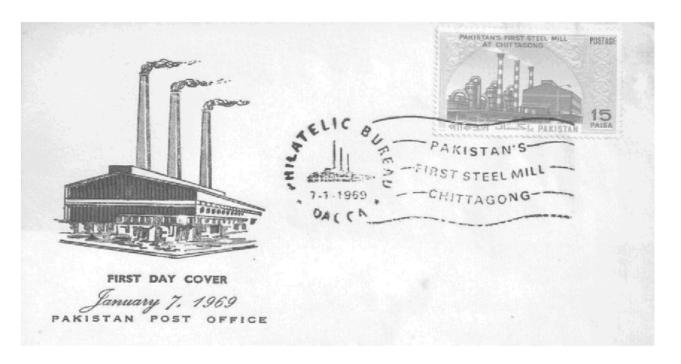


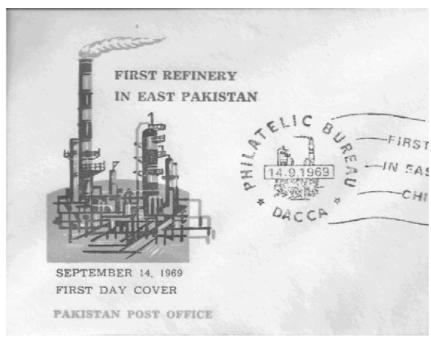














# INDIA'S MACHINATIONS Hegemonic India: A Historical Outlook of the Indian Imperialistic Desires

## T

he Indian vicious desire, to dismember Pakistan emerged soon after the creation of Pakistan. The dogmatic leadership of Congress never concealed their desire for reversing the Partition of 1947. The philosophy of 'Akhand Bharath' - [the united India], was propagated by most of the Indian leadership. The Indian leadership considered the Partition a temporary event, and explored every opportunity for achieving Pakistan's dismemberment. Such desires

were openly expressed by the Congress leadership on various occasions. Gandhi, the founder of the Indian nation, in his address of July 1947 to Congress Party of Bengal said,

 $^{\circ}$  The Congress Committee there (East Bengal) must never look upon Bengal as divided  $^{\circ}155$  . Similarly, Gandhi was also reported to state that,

'Congress was opposed to Pakistan and that he was one of those who have steadfastly opposed the division of India'156.

Nehru, another architect of Indian independence, also had similar views, as he said, 'one day (Pakistan) would be inevitably integrated with India' 157. Correspondingly on the eve of Partition, Nehru remarked that, 'India accepted the partition with the conviction that the new state was not viable and would collapse in a short time' 158. Nehru also perceived the establishment of Pakistan as a short-lived measure, which would eventually lead to united India sooner than later. In his book 'Danger in Kashmir', Josef Korbel narrates that; Nehru had told him that, 'Pakistan is a mediaeval state with an impossible theocratic concept' 159.

Similar intentions were also expressed by the All-Indian Congress Committee in their resolution of 14th June 1947. It states that, 'Geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is, and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny . . . The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and our hearts. The All-India Congress Committee earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided, India's problem will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited by all '<sup>160</sup> .

Commenting on the resolution, Congressite Maulana Azad on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1947 argued: 'The division is only of the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition' <sup>161</sup>. Another president of All-India Congress Committee, Acharya Kirpalani demonstrated his prejudiced approach by saying: 'Neither the Congress nor the nation had given up a claim of united India. Accordingly the freedom that India had achieved would not be complete without the unity of India'. <sup>162</sup>

The rigid and dogmatic mentality of Congress and the Hindu leadership continued even after the establishment of Pakistan. Premier Nehru along with his colleagues had the view that, 'Creation of Pakistan as a "temporary" outcome of Britain's divide and rule policy '163 . Radha Krishna, the former Indian President, considered Partition a grave blunder and is reported to state that, 're-union of the two successor states of British India was necessary and inevitable '164 . Another prominent Indian politician and former interior minister, Sardar Valebbhai Patel argued that, 'Sooner or later we shall again be united in common allegiance to a country'. <sup>165</sup>

Apart from the Congress leadership the other Hindu rightist parties also shared the Congress' mentality. The Hindu Mahasabha, a prominent, influential Hindu right-wing nationalist organization, became more vociferous when it declared:

'India is one and indivisible and there will never be peace unless and until the separated parts are brought back into the Indian Union and made integral parts thereof' 166.

Likewise another Hindu right-wing militant organization, Rashtriya Smayamsevak Sang, generally known as 'RSS', used to chant slogans for Pakistan's break up. One of their principal slogans was, '*Pakistan torh do Nehru Hakumat Chhod do*' (Pakistan should be broken up, Nehru should leave office) which they chanted mostly in Nehru's era<sup>167</sup>.

The Indian desires for Pakistan's dismemberment were brazenly confessed by Subramanyam Swamy, a Former member of Indian Parliament when he stated that, 'the main stream of India wants to undo Pakistan. . . Nationalists in India are for the dismemberment of whatever remains of Pakistan. That is the road to Akhand Bharat' <sup>168</sup>.

Similarly, the Indian populace was made to believe that, 'India could not emerge as a super power unless Pakistan was dismembered' 169. All of these citations clearly illustrate the Congress and Hindu mindset.

Apart from the initial denial of Pakistan's right of existence, the Indians were also quick to develop and utilize the unfavourable situation of 1971. The Indian vicious aims can be gauged by looking into the statements of India's top leadership, Indira Gandhi, in a public gathering on 31st November 1971, "India has never reconciled with the existence of Pakistan. . . Indian leaders have always believed that Pakistan should not have been created and that Pakistani nation has no right to exist "170 .

Moreover, well-known Indian Scholar and ,then, Director of the Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis, K. Subramanyan stated on 31st March, 1971 that, 'What Indians must realize is the fact that the breakup of Pakistan is in our interest an opportunity [East Pakistan Crisis] the like of which will never come again '171'.

- 155 Gosh, Sucheta, Role of India in the Emergence of Bangladesh, Minneora Associated Ltd, Calcutta, 1983,p.9
- 156 V.P. Menon, The Transfer of Power in India, Orient Longsman Calcutta, 1957,p.386.
- <sup>157</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p.273.
- 158 Azad, M.A.K, India Wins Freedom, Stosius Inc/Advent Books Division, 1978, p. 242.
- 159 Korbel, Joseph, Danger in India, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1954, p. 137
- <sup>160</sup> V.P. Menon, The Transfer of Power in India, Orient Longsman Calcutta, 1957,p.384
- <sup>161</sup> Ibid.,p.385
- $^{\rm 162}$  Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis
- 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p.274
- 163 Rose, Sission Richard and Leo E., War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh, University of California Press, Berkely, LA, 1990, p. 43
- 164 Ibid 42
- 165 Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p. 138
- <sup>166</sup> Pande, Aparna, Explaning Pakistan Foreign Policy, Routledege, Newyork, 2011,p.14.
- 167 Ibid n 16
- $^{168}\,\mathrm{Matinuddin},$  Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis
- 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore, 1994 p.274.
- 169 Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p. 139.
- 170 rbid 129

Further, former Indian Parliamentarian Subramanyam Swamy while expressing his views about the Indian policy towards Pakistan had stated,

'A dispassionate analysis would show, India did not dismember Pakistan to solve refugee problem . . . that is utter rubbish. India went to war to satisfy the nationalists and consequently, popular view that the dismemberment of Pakistan was in the long-term interest of India '172 . Commenting on the situation of 1971, veteran Indian journalist Kuldip Nayyar, in his book 'Distant Neighbour' writes that with the inception of the East Pakistan crisis, "The Indians felt happy, that Pakistan, their enemy was in trouble" 173 .

The above-mentioned citations are a reflection of the Indian offensive policy toward Pakistan. Soon after Partition, owing to the Indian offensive and hegemonic attitude, Pakistani establishment urged for the formulation of a defensive policy to deal with India. Accordingly, the Indian aims of destructing Pakistan were fittingly anticipated by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of the Nation. During his nine-day visit to East Pakistan in March 1948, he mentioned the Indian machinations in his various speeches. In his address of 19<sup>th</sup> March 1948 he stated that,

'Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the state. . . These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism. As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politics you will never be able to weld yourself '174.

Additionally, in another address broadcasted by Radio Dacca on 28th March 1948, he remarked,

"I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, have suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the 'just claims' of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this . . . a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidious propaganda aimed at setting Brother Muslim against Brother Muslim?" 175

Similarly, Indian offensive policies were also recognized by Liaquat Ali Khan- the first Premier of Pakistan, as he declared,

'I charge the Government of India: first, it has never wholeheartedly accepted the partition scheme, but her leaders paid lip service to it merely to get British troops out of the country. Secondly, India is out to destroy the states of Pakistan which Indian Leaders persistently continue to regard as a part of India itself'. 176

The first impression of India in Pakistan has always been that of an imperialistic and hegemonic state. To illustrate, an editorial of the daily *Dawn*, after the Indian forceful annexation of Goa in 1961 demonstrates such an impression of India.

'Pakistan faces exactly the same danger as Goa did and as soon as India feels strong enough to do so she will try to wipe out Pakistan because Indians in their heart of hearts still regard the areas now forming Pakistan as basically part of Akhand Bharat (Undivided India) over which some day Hindu rule must be extended '177.

President General Ayub Khan also had similar views toward India. In his Presidential address on the eve of the 1965-war he remarked that,

'Today they [India] have given final proof of the evil intentions which India has always harboured against Pakistan since its inception. The Indian rulers were never reconciled to the establishment of an independent Pakistan where Muslims could build a homeland of their own. All their military preparations during the last 18 years have been directed against us [Pakistan] '178.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was spontaneous when he mentioned the aggressive Indian approach toward Pakistan in his famous address to the United Nations Security Council on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1965. He stated that: 'We are facing a great monster, a great aggressor always given to aggression. During the eighteen years of our independence we have seen India commit aggression time and again. Ever since 1947, India has followed the road of aggression . . . It has committed aggression against Junagadh, against Manavadar, against Mangrol, against Hyderabad and against Goa. . . From 1947 we have been faced with this situation. We have always known that India is determined to annihilate Pakistan '179'.

Despite knowing the Indian aims, the government of Pakistan looked weak, as compared to the hegemonic India, especially in 1971. However, Pakistan still remains a main hurdle in the Indian route to regional supremacy.

All in all, the Indian intentions for Pakistan's disintegration were exposed immediately after Partition. With the aim of occupying most of the subcontinent, the imperialistic India launched her campaign. The first preys were the autonomous princely states.

<sup>171</sup> Interview, K. Subramanyam; Indian Council of World Affairs, Symposium 31 March, 1971.

- 172 Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p.143
- 173 Nayar, Kuldip, Distant Neighbors A tale of the Subcontinent, Vikas Publications House, Uttar Pardesh 1972,p.145
- 174 Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, The great Tragedy, Pakistan Peoples Party Publications Vision Publications, Karachi, 1971.p.4.
- 175 Ibid n 4
- 176 Rose, Sission Richard and Leo E., War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh, University of California Press, Berkely, LA, 1990, p.44
- 177 Editorial, Dawn news, 1961 Accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016
- 178 Khan, Ayub, Archives 1st September 1965

 $https://archives.org/stream/Pakistan\_201505/Pakistan-djvu.txt\ accessed\ on\ 15\ April\ 2016$ 

## Annexation of Princely States: (Actions of Imperialistic India)

The hegemonic attitude of India developed further after her independence. The worst illustration of the imperialistic attitude of India immediately after Partition of 1947, is clearly visible by evaluating the Indian policy towards the princely states. As per the Indian Act of July 1947, the independent states were allowed to decide their future fortune by either joining India or Pakistan. Although, superficially, India accepted this policy but, intrinsically she was conspiring for the annexation of these states. Ignoring the basic democratic right and the demographic structure of the independent states, India adopted a policy of strong, armed persuasion and the actual use of brute force to quench her imperialistic thirst.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, therefore, was appointed as Minister of Home Affairs by the Congress to accomplish India's vicious dreams of supremacy. Sardar Patel, along with V. P. Menon (Secretary of the Home and States Ministry), initiated to formulate a decisive policy of the annexation. They used the carrot and stick policy to pursue the rulers of the independent princely states, deceiving them with promises of the preservation of their sovereignty. They also utilized the rhetoric of Indian patriotism and guaranteed retaining them as the constitutional heads. Falling prey to India's devious machinations, about forty states annexed to India.

The process initiated with the 'merger agreement', with an assurance of an annual sum for their 'Privy purse', private property, personal privileges, titles, and dignities to the Princes. By 1st January 1948, the first agreement brought thirty-nine states of Orissa (the Eastern state on the Bay of Bengal) and Chhattisgarh (a central Indian state), spread over 56,000 square miles180. In February 1948, the small state of Makrai was also included in the merger agreement. Additionally, Mayurbhanj with a population of one million, covering an area of 4,034 square miles, was merged with the Indian union by 9th November 1948.181

 $\frac{179}{\text{Speech in UNSC}}, 22^{\text{nd}} \\ \text{September 1965}, \\ \text{Bhutto.org September 1965}, \\ \text{Bhutto.org 1965} \\ \text{speech 49.php accessed 15 April 2016}.$ 

The same process continued in the states of Deccan and Gujarat which were merged in the province of Bombay. A strict supervision was enforced specially in the case of Kolhapur (a large Deccan state) where a population of one million opposed against the merger plan. Nevertheless, the shrewd Indian diplomacy forced the integration of Kolhapur in Bombay province by 1<sup>st</sup> March 1948. Likewise, Gujarat's premier state of Baroda, having a population of three million and covering an area of 8,236 square miles was forced to sign the merger agreement. Subsequently on April 1951, Maharaja of Baroda was deprived of his privileges, title, and dignitaries by the Government of India. In addition to this, many states like Pudukkottai, Sandur, Madras and Baganapalle were merged with the adjacent provinces.

The imperialistic face of India was further exposed in her campaign against the more autonomous princely states of the United States of Rajasthan, East Punjab State Union, Patiala, Madya Bharat, Saura Shtra, United State of Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Mysore. By July 1947, states inside the geographical orbit of India and at a distance from Pakistan were left with no other option than to accede to India. Despite the Indian hegemonic campaign, many states preferred their accession to Pakistan. To elucidate, Indore, under the State of Central India agency, Jodhpur the largest under the Rajputana Agency, Jaisalmer British Protectorate in Rajasthan region, and the Nawab of Bhopal, Hamidullah Khan, were negotiating with Mr Jinnah for a possible accession to Pakistan. Likewise, the states of Hyderabad and Travancore announced their desire for gaining independence. Ignoring the call of the Indian Act of 1947, the Indian Congressites crushed the legitimate desires of these peaceful princely states, proving their imperialistic intentions. The nastiest illustration of Indian viciousness was demonstrated in the case of Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir. A separate explanation would be required for each of these states.

<sup>180</sup> Furber, Holden. The Unification of India 1947-1951, Pacific Affairs December 1951, p. 352

<sup>181</sup> Ibid p. 356

Occupation of Junagadh

Juragadh, a small princely state in Gujarat, was part of a larger Kathiawar Agency (in the western part of the subcontinent), with a population of 67,000 covered an area of 3,337 square miles. Juragadh was under Muslim rule, while its 85 per cent of the population was Hindus. After the partition plan was introduced, the Nawab of Juragadh desired to integrate with Pakistan and thus declined to sign the Instrument of Accession and the standstill agreement. On 15<sup>th</sup> August, the then Chief Minister, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, through a government communiqué, announced the accession to Pakistan. It activated the Congressites to alter this accession. The Indian government, initially, called for a plebiscite in Juragadh under its supervision for this crucial decision. Albeit, that the plebiscite was under consideration, the government of India launched a brutal military campaign and sent troops to occupy Juragadh. The troops blocked the air communication, postal and telegraph services and installed a provisional government under the leadership of Shamaldas Gandhi, a nephew of Gandhi. The provisional government was quick in raising a volunteer army and transferred its headquarters to Rajkot. This occupation was part of the Indian adventurous campaign. The government of Pakistan lambasted the occupation and called for the withdrawal of troops and an organisation of a peaceful plebiscite to decide the future of Juragadh. The Indian government refused to withdraw the troops, which resulted in a military clash between the Indian and Nawab's troops. Subsequently, the Nawab along with his family fled to Karachi.

Additionally, the Indian army came into Manavadar and imposed a military-backed occupation. Similarly, the areas of Mangrol and Babariaward were also forcefully occupied. In response to this, Liaquat Ali Khan sent a telegram to the Indian government and protested against the occupation of Junagadh. The Indian adventurous campaign was not only a violation of the integrity of the legitimate Pakistani territory, but also a clear breach of International Law. In order to put a garb on the illegitimate occupation, a farcical government-backed plebiscite was organized by the government of India on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1948, which resulted in an overall majority vote for accession to India.

With a population of 16 million and an area of 82,000 square miles, Hyderabad was one of the largest states in India. Located in the centre of the southern peninsula, it was ruled by a Muslim nawab. After the announcement of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, the Nizam of Hyderabad announced his intentions of remaining as an independent state and not acceding to either Pakistan or India. His aims roused frustration and anger in the Indian government. Thus, all available resources were directed to merge Hyderabad into the Indian union. The Indian government, under the direction of the Congress, formulated a strategy to merge the Hyderabad state. The Muslim community of Hyderabad was targeted by looting and arson of their property. Trained, armed personnel from the Indian police with ammunition were infiltrated from the provinces of Madras and Bombay in the state of Hyderabad. The economic stagnation and violence-based campaign compelled the Nizam to sign an interim Standstill Agreement on 29th November 1947 with India. K. M. Munshi a staunch believer in Indian Union, was appointed as AgentGeneral in Hyderabad. He deliberately adopted such measures to weaken the government. Pressure was built on the Nizam through economic strangulation and destructive propaganda by the Indian press to force him to accede to India. After the departure of British, the Indian government increased further pressures on Hyderabad. Eventually, on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1948, Indian troops entered Hyderabad to seal its freedom. Despite its weak armed forces, the State Government was determined to give a tough fight to the Indian forces. They were also expecting a helping hand from Pakistan, but engulfed with internal crisis, Pakistan could not provide enough support. In order to gain international support, the State Ministry of Hyderabad sent a delegation to the United Nations, but before the United Nations Security Council could initiate any arrangement, India geared up her military campaign by launching an offensive attack from all three sides of Hyderabad

Barbaric Campaign in Kashmir

The beautiful geostrategic valley of Kashmir in the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent is tarnished and disfigured by the blood of its helpless, brave inhabitants fighting for their freedom. Until today the sun sets in Kashmir with the hue and cry of widows, orphaned children, mothers, and sisters. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a princely state in British India and had a heterogeneous demography. According to the 1941 census, its total population was 4,021,616 in which 80 per cent were Muslims. It was ruled by an autocratic Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh. The persecution of Muslims was a routine practice and since then, the persecution has never stopped only the occupier has changed. Kashmir was bought by Gulab Singh from the British Government in 1846 under the notorious 'Treaty of Amritsar'. Since then Muslims have been victims of Hindu suppression and persecution. After the Partition of 1947, Kashmir became the bone of contention between Pakistan and India and still continues to haunt Pak-Indo relations.

On the eve of Partition, Hari Singh dismissed the Muslims' desire to merge Kashmir into Pakistan, inciting the Muslims to revolt against the Maharaja. Therefore, in August and September 1947, the situation worsened and the Muslim subjects of Maharaja's rule started a military revolt to liberate Kashmir from the atrocious rule of Hari Singh. Soon, accompanied by the tribesmen of NWFP, the Muslims attained initial success and expelled the state forces from the districts of Poonch and Mirpur. On 22nd October 1947, the Muslim forces reached the borders of Srinagar. The terrified Maharaja fled to Jammu and sent his accession consent to the Indian government, and asked for military help for saving his throne. India waiting for any such opportunity quickly dispatched a battalion of Sikh troops to Srinagar. Almost 10,000 troops took part in the barbaric reoccupation of Kashmir. Upon receiving the news of Indian occupational operation, Mr Jinnah ordered Pakistan's Commander- in-Chief General Gracey to send Pakistani troops to Kashmir, which he did not follow. On the other hand, Indian occupation continued in which thousands of innocent Muslims were killed, hundreds of girls and women were deprived of their honour and Muslim houses and properties were set on fire. Thus, the Indian occupation came at the price of genocide of Kashmiri Muslims.

On 1st January 1948, the Indians played another trick by taking the Kashmir issue to the United Nations. This was done only to conceal the Indian imperialistic desires. However, after thorough discussion in the United Nations Security Council, a resolution was passed on 21st April 1948 (Instrument of Accession attached as Annexure – 2), calling for holding a plebiscite to decide the future status of Jammu and Kashmir182 182 1948 ceased on the promise of holding a plebiscite for allowing the Kashmiris to decide their own destiny. However, India never made any effort to hold the plebiscite and continued her inhumane occupation of Kashmir. Until today, Kashmir's occupation illustrates the superficial Indian claims of democracy. After occupying most of the princely states, India's greed for expansion turned her attention towards her weak neighbours.

### India and her Immediate Neighbours: A Relationship of Hegemony and Forced Dependency

India shares borders with most of the states of South Asia. It shares its border with Nepal on the north-eastern side and with Bhutan on the western, eastern, and southern side. While Bangladesh lies on India's eastern border, China is located on the northern border and Pakistan on the western border. Sri Lanka lies on the southern border of India. In addition to this, Myanmar also shares borders with the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Manipur Mizoram.

The Indian expansionist, hegemonic, and aggressive policies have been reported in most of the cases in her relationships with immediate neighbours. Nehru, "considered the Indian subcontinent as an exclusive sphere of influence for Delhi" 183. With such a consideration, India's relationship with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and China are marked by continued mistrust. She has entered in conventional wars with Pakistan in (1948, 1965, 1971, 1998/99) and with China in 1962. To strengthen her hegemonic status, Indian external policies are formulated to weaken her neighbours into dependency. In pursuance of her voracious interests, India has been expeditious in manipulating favourable situations. Allegedly, India has indulged in sponsoring various insurgencies particularly, in her neighbouring countries, like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. To elucidate India's hegemonic attitude, the cases of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka would be discussed in the following sections.

183 Malone, David M, Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.104.

Invasion of Sikkim

Sikkim was a small sovereign state until 1975. Being part of the larger Himalayan Kingdom, it was located between Nepal and Bhutan having an area of 2,739 square miles. During the British rule, Sikkim had an autonomous status, as the relationship between Sikkim and British were governed by separate treaties. Under these treaties, British had the administrative control over it, therefore, it was considered as a British protectorate. Following the British withdrawal, Sikkim, attained independence. Nevertheless, Sikkim soon fell prey to the Indian imperialistic desires. India increased her interference in Sikkim coercing her to enter in a treaty, the 'Indian-Sikkim Peace Treaty', in December 1950. Under the treaty, Sikkim continued to be a protectorate of India. The

<sup>182</sup> Please see the Annexure No. 1

treaty, widely accepted as a forced agreement, authorized India to interfere in the state affairs of Sikkim. Under the Article IV of the treaty; the external relations of Sikkim whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the government of India, and the Government of Sikkim shall not have any dealing with foreign Powers <sup>184</sup>. This treaty is enclosed at Annexation.

Similarly, under Article III, the government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim <sup>185</sup>. With the treaty of 1950, Sikkim almost lost her autonomous status, but the Indian greed was not satiated, as its policymakers were aiming for the annexation of the tiny nation with India. Eventually, the task was given to R&AW which adopted the same modus operandi which it followed to accomplish the creation of Bangladesh. To fertilize the ground for an Indian annexation, an ethnic confirontation was created, thereafter, as soon as an ethnic conflict erupted, Indian troops crossed the border on the premise of humanitarian intervention. Hence, in September 1974, the Indian parliament passed a resolution calling for making Sikkim an associate state (within India) of India<sup>186</sup>. Therefore, when King Chogyal (the Sikkim Monarch) opposed the Indian desires, the Indians removed Chogyal through a planted assembly resolution of Sikkim and called for Indian annexation. Thus to avoid global criticism, a referendum under the surveillance of occupying Indian troops was conducted, and on 29th April 1975, Sikkim was annexed with India.

<sup>184</sup> (India-Sikkim Treaty 1950) <sup>185</sup> (India-Sikkim Treaty 1950) *Indian Gamble with China 1962* 

Carried away by her imperialistic desires, India also tried to interfere in China but failed miserably. In 1950, the Autonomous Tibetan region was formed under the influence of China which remains unacceptable to India. Thus, India promoted separatism by training and financing the Tibetan rebels. Historically, Indian expansionist modus operandi has been to promote separatism and sponsor extremism. In the year of 1959, it was widely accepted that the rebels of Tibet are being funded and trained by America's CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) in Indian West Bengal hill station of Kalimpong 187. Despite the formal Chinese request for expelling and suppressing the rebels and their activities, the Indians continued their support. In March 1959, the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual leader, leading an uprising against the Chinese government, escaped to India and formed an exile provincial government there in Dharamsala. The Chinese army in pursuit of the Tibetan rebels reached Longiu, where the Indian and Chinese armed forces met in combat. In November 1961, under her Forward Policy India established military posts near the McMahon Line (the agreed line between Britain and Tibet). The Indian military posts were positioned to north of the Chinese military posts. By establishing military posts on the disputed territories, the Indian military aimed to choke the Chinese supply lines to pressurize the Chinese forces to withdraw. The bone of contention between India and China was the territory of the eastern section. Indians refer to this territory as the North East Frontier Agency, while China calls it the South Tibet. The dispute extends to the western sector which includes the Aksai Chin plateau, bordering Tibet, Kashmir and Xinjiang. The Indian Forward Policy added fuel to fire of an already embittered dispute with China. These border disputes and the Indian posts simultaneously in the eastern and western sectors. It took thirty-two days of armed conflict to a unilateral ceasefire, to be initiated and enforced by China

- 186 Kumar Satish,"India and the Himalayan States", Handbook of the India's International Relations. Routledge, 2011,p.80.
- 187 Malone, David M, Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011.,p.133.

This war ended with the defeat of India, especially in the western sector where China retained control of Aksai Chin. Despite her defeat, India still continues to lay claim on the Aksai Chin territory, while China asserts ownership on the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. In the contemporary arena, India still continues to perceive China as a potential enemy, and recognizes it as the main hurdle in her route to regional hegemony.

India-Nepal Relations

Located in the Himalayan mountain range, Nepal is a landlocked country bounded by India on her eastern, western, and southern side, with China bordering its northern side. Indian relations with Nepal have always been marked by muscularity. Nepal has always been duly reprimanded whenever she exploited her geographical compulsion or opposed her Indian dictate. Historically, India has imposed economic embargoes on Nepal on several occasions. To illustrate, the first economic embargo on Nepal by the Indian government was imposed in 1969, as a retribution for Nepal's decision of removal of the 'Indian Surveillance Unit' from her common border with China. In 1969 Nepal committed yet another gaucherie by stepping on India's toes as a Non-Permanent Member of the UNSC.

In 1975, the illegitimate occupation of Sikkim was another extreme validation of the Indian expansionist polices. As another example of India's hegemonic attitude, she imposed another major economic embargo in 1975 against Nepal, on her import of arms from China for strengthening her domestic defence. Whenever, the Nepalese government increases her ties with China, she faces blockade from India. In 1989, most of the Indo-Nepal border crossings were blocked just because of her advancing relationship with China. Most recently, Nepalese faced another blockade by India on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2015<sup>188</sup>. This blockade was carried out by India in order to force the Nepalese government to amend their newlyadopted Constitution. As claimed by Kanak Mani Dixit (the editor of Himal Southasian),

"India's interference in Nepal's domestic politics and its alleged fuel and economic blockade of the Country probably stemmed from the Modi government's failed attempts to steer the Nepalese constitution to be more "friendly towards India" 189.

Accordingly, KP Sharma Oli, the Nepalese Premier, vocalized his discontent at the Indian involvement, warning of dire consequences if she continued with her meddling tactics <sup>190</sup>. The Indian blockade was a sign of her desire to manipulate her economic relationships to incite domestic political change in her landlocked neighbour, Nepal. Moreover, through the blockade, New Delhi attempted to demonstrate the Indian sphere of influence in the domestic affairs of Kathmandu. Apart from the heinous economic blockade politics, India is also encouraging the southern-based ethnic community of Madhesis in their agitation against the central government of Nepal. Representing nearly 40 per cent of the Nepalese population, Madhesi are being supported by the Indian authorities to amend the Nepalese polices in accordance to her interests. The everlasting Indian desire of *Akhand Bharat* has also influenced her relationship with Nepal. Currently, 14,000 hectares of Nepal's land in Susta, 37,000 hectares in Kalapani, and 12,000 hectares in 71 other parts of India-Nepal border are under the Indian occupation since 1962191. Moreover, the RSS pushes for the constitutional declaration of Nepal as a 'Hindu Rashtra' which is another source of Indian agitation towards her dependent, neighbour.

The Indian expansionist attitude is discernable with her continued interference in the domestic affairs and indulgence in the political affairs of her neighbours, to the extent of organizing agitation in their territories. In the broader picture, the real Indian aim is to convert these sovereign states into satellite states in order to pursue her interest of regional supremacy.

- <sup>188</sup> The Kathmandu Post edition 23/09/2015 http://kathumandupost.ekantipur.com/accessed on 16 April 2016.
- 189 Dawn edition 06 November 2015,http://www.dawn.com/news/1217707 accessed on 16 April,2016.
- 190 Asian Times edition 02 November 2015, http://atimes.com/2015/11/1-injured-infiring-after-nepal-police-clear-protesters-from-key-crossing-into-india/ accessed on 16 April 2016
- $191\ Dr.\ Bishnu\ Hari, Nepal\ for eign\ Affairs\ http://nepalforeignaffairs.com/nepal-chinaties-in-the-time-of-indian-expansion is maccessed\ on\ 16\ April\ 2016.$

Indo-Bhutan Ties

Bhutan shares borders with India to the east, west, and south, while sharing its northern border with China. Bhutan's concerns erupted after the British departure in 1947. Hence, in order to restore her sovereign status, Bhutan entered into a treaty with India entitled as 'India-Bhutan Friendship Treaty' of 1949, which is enclosed as **Annexure-3**. Under Article II of the treaty, "The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part, the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations" 192. It is very much clear from the language of the treaty that Bhutan's foreign policy would be India driven. However, the treaty of 1949 was revised in 2007 (**Annexure-4**). Under the new treaty Bhutan now enjoys more liberty in her external affairs but still is not autonomous in formulating her own policies. The 2007 treaty still demands Bhutan's foreign policy to not to harm the Indian interests. With a landlocked geographical status, Bhutan is almost 95 per cent dependent on India for her trade. Bhutan's landlocked status makes her reliant on India for an access to the rest of the world. Mainly, all of the oil consumption of Bhutan is controlled by India; in addition to this, her 90 per cent of hydropower is also controlled by India. This dependency has compelled Bhutan to compromise her sovereignty, thus, victimized viciously by India's imperialistic designs.

The Indian interference in the domestic politics of Bhutan has always been a great concern for the Bhutanese people. During the second Parliamentarian elections held in 2013, People's Democratic Party (PDP) of Bhutan won the election by defeating the ruling Peace and Prosperity Party (PPP). The Indian involvement in the national elections of Bhutan can never be neglected. In the first phase of the election, PPP was leading the polls, but when the Indian government cut off the subsidies on kerosene and liquefied petroleum gas, the consequent rocketing fuel prices expectedly invoked public anger resulting in PPP's demise. Therefore, in the second round of the elections, the PDP was declared victorious. The timing of the Indian subsidy withdrawal amid the elections changed the fate of the parties. Another aspect of the Indian involvement in the 2013 national elections of Bhutan is Chinese oriented. Bhutan being a buffer state between India and China, always faces the Indian wrath whenever it tries to build ties with China. The government of PPP, under the Premiership of Jigmi Y. Thinley, was punished owing to his increasing affability with China193, unacceptable to the Indian establishment. This exemplifies the intense nature of India's involvement in Bhutan's affairs. It has been a routine practice of the Indian policymakers to use her economic stranglehold to interfere in the political affairs of her neighbours. Bhutan always remains under the looming threat of Indian annexation. Although, the concepts of the protectorate and satellite states have disappeared in the twentyfirst century, nevertheless, the nature of the Indo-Bhutan relationship can still be viewed with the same lens.

### 192 (Refworld)

Indian polices have also compelled the Bhutanese regime to have her own army. Without having any air force, the Bhutan army is highly dependent on India for her arms and troops training. Indian influences on Bhutan's external polices are reflected in Nehru's statement in 1954. He stated,

'Bhutan is a semi-independent state whose foreign policy has to be conducted in consultation with us [India]. The state receives a subsidy from us also. They are very anxious to preserve their Independence but they have to rely on India. We have no desire to interfere internally in Bhutan, but we have made it clear that, so far as external matters are concerned or any defence matter, India is intensely interested and must have a say, this is the position '194.

India and Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, a small island nation in the south of India, has always been under the Indian shadow owing to her geostrategic positioning. Given the weak political and military structure of Sri Lanka, it has always been under the Indian influence. Its political dynamics and the defence policies are India dominated. The Indian-Sri Lankan relationship has always been speckled by the Indian influence in its internal and external policies. Internally, India has been greatly involved in the Sri Lankan civil war, by exploiting the ethnic gulf between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Admittedly, the Indian regime under Indira Gandhi armed the Tamils and helped in formation of the LLTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam]. In 1987, when the Sri Lankan government initiated an operation against the Tamil Insurgency, the Indian intervention fended off the Sri Lankan operation against LTTE. Prior to the Indian intervention, the Sri Lankan government was warned of suffering dire consequences if the operation against LLTE was not abandoned. The Sri Lankan President, J. R. Jayawardene remarked on the Indian intervention in 1987 as "the 17th invasion of Sri Lanka by India in her 2500 years of history" <sup>195</sup>.

- <sup>193</sup> Minstry of Foreign Affairs, The People's Republic of China. 22 June 2012, accessed on 19 April 2016.
- 194 Kumar Satish, "India and the Himalayan States", Handbook of the India's International Relations. Routledge, 2011,p.77.

A glance on the Indo-Lankan accord signed (enclosed at **Annexure-5**) after the Indian intervention explains the Indian involvement at length. The Indian intervention under the rhetoric of 'Peace Keeping' was nothing more than the imposition of its hegemony over its small island neighbour.

The massacre carried out by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Jaffina Teaching Hospital on  $21^{st}$  and  $22^{nd}$  October 1987, is an exemplification of the brutal and barbaric activities of the IPKF. More than sixty-eight people including doctors, nurses, and patients were killed in the bloody campaign of the IPKF196. Allegedly, the IPKF perpetrated numerous rapes and cases of plunder, inflating the list of its heinous activities. However, the Indian intervention ended as a failure against her nurtured monster LLTE. Ironically in a chicken came home to roost situation, the monstrous LLTE assassinated Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi on  $21^{st}$  May 1991. However, the Sri Lankan government got rid of the LLTE in 2009 with the help of brotherly countries, including Pakistan.

The Indian involvement in Sri Lanka was not limited to its internal affairs only; it extended to Sri Lanka's external affairs also. In 1980s, the Indian policymakers had been actively keeping Sri Lanka isolated from Pakistan and the western countries. To distract Sri Lanka from having a functional foreign policy, New Delhi used the ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils to involve her internally. At present, the Sri Lankan proximity with Chinese has been a major concern for India. China has been involved in financing major development projects in Sri Lanka such as funding for the development of an airport and the Hambantota port, the construction of expressways, and the expansion of the Colombo port, etc. Furthermore, China is also building the Norochcholai power plant. New Delhi considers the Chinese presence in Sri Lanka as an evolving national security threat for India. The Indian policymakers in New Delhi perceive the South Asian region as an area of Indian influence, therefore, in order to maintain her regional hegemony, it has to block the entry of any other

power. So, it would not be inappropriate to foresee another ethnic conflict erupting in Sri Lanka. Historically, India has always used the Tamil trump card to dictate the Sri Lankan government, therefore history can be repeated if the Chinese and Sri Lankan proximity continues.

http://www.tamilguardian.com/article.asp?articleid=3735 accessed on 19 April,2016.

All in all, to maintain her regional hegemony, India is fuelling indigenous ethnic conflicts in most of the South Asian states, with maximum success in Pakistan.

#### **Indian Involvement in Pakistan**

The insecure Indian state came under a security dilemma after her defeat in war of 1965 with Pakistan. The geographical positioning of East and West Pakistan was always conceived as a threat by India, which became more imminent after her defeat in the 1965-war. This war dispelled any Indian notions of Pakistan's military inability or weakness, convincing India of reformulating its strategy for achieving the dismemberment of Pakistan. Therefore, she searched for opportune political solutions to fulfil her dream of Pakistan's dismemberment. Consequently, the most feasible option was to utilize the geographical partitioning of the Eastern and the Western wings of Pakistan. With devious machinations, India managed to exploit in its favour the prevailing alienation between West and East Pakistan.

The conditions in East Pakistan were also favourable to India's ill-intentions. The physical separation of twelve hundred miles, the predominance of Bengali nationalism and the disgruntled presence of the 15 per cent of Hindu minority<sup>197</sup> in the populace were propitious prospects for infiltrating in the socio-political sphere of East Pakistan. The favourable ties between the Hindus of East Pakistan and Calcutta, paved the way for Indian objectives. Along with this, the prevailing ethnic-based grievances of Bengalis further fertilized the ground for Indian stratagems.

The creation of Bangladesh is generally perceived as a consequence of West Pakistan's partisan policies towards East Pakistan, without any acknowledgement of the Indian involvement. An effort has been made in this book to explore the Indian role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. On numerous occasions, the Indian and Bangladeshi Leadership and intellectuals have also accepted and regretted Indian involvement.

Shawkat Ali (Ex-Deputy Speaker of Bangladeshi Parliament] in a Victory day celebration in 2011 remarked, 'India stood beside us when we required them .We shall always remember this the gesture. We are so grateful. I would give hundred percent credit to India for liberation of Bangladesh' 198 . Similarly in an interview, Major General (retd) Z. A. Khan, former Director, DGFI (Bangladeshi Intelligence) stated that,

'There is no doubt that RAW played a vital role during our liberation war, but their motive was to divide Pakistan at any cost to weaken their arch rival [Pakistan]. Their hidden objective is to establish undivided India, which they call "Akhand Bharat Mata". In this direction, they have been taking a lot of initiative from the very beginning. When they saw that it was not possible to proceed in the normal course, then they first decided to divide Pakistan into two small parts '199.

The confessions of the Indian leadership are also on record. For instance, Indian Premier Indira Gandhi gloated after the fall of Dhaka with these arrogant words.

' We have taken the revenge of a thousand years' and 'we have drowned the Two-Nation theory in the Bay of Bengal' <sup>200</sup>. Likewise, Rahul Gandhi in his election campaign of 2007 proudly remarked,

'You know, when our [Nehru] family commits to a task, it also completes it. In the past too, members of the Gandhi family have achieved the goals they have initiated like the freedom of the country, dividing Pakistan into two, and leading the nation into the 21st century' 201.

Most recently, Prime Minister Modi, during his visit to Bangladesh' in his speech on receiving the War of Liberation award on behalf of the former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Bangladesh, on 7th June 2015 stated'

' We fought for Bangladesh's 'swabhimaan' (honour)... alongside Mukti Jodhas (Mukti Bahini)... for Bangladesh.... Indians were fighting side-by-side with them and in a way helped realize the dream of Bangladesh' <sup>202</sup>. Although it's a known fact that Indians were instrumental in the dismemberment of Pakistan, these remarks are only a glimpse of the confessions made by both Bengali and Indian leadership.

# **India's Grand Strategy**

In pursuance of her goal, India launched a massive campaign. The multi-pronged Indian grand strategy was as follows. **Firstly**, to make the ground favourable, the Indians sophisticatedly constructed the discourse of marginalization and deprivation of East Pakistan. Under this policy, they aimed to sow the seeds of separatist and biased sentiments in the Bengali populace. **Secondly**, India launched a psychological war with the use of variegated media and multiple forums, which succeeded in building a narrative against the unity of Pakistan. **Thirdly**, on the political front by the installation of puppet political organizations, they altered the bases of ideological orientation from Islamic nationalism to ethnic nationalism. **Fourthly**, to isolate Pakistan's central government, India launched a diplomatic mission to sideline the Pakistani stance on the eastern quagmire. **Fifthly**, in order to provide a legitimate garb to her illegitimate aims, the Indian viciously created the refugee conundrum. **Sixthly**, inducting a paramilitary force 'Mukti Bahini', which at a later stage introduced an atrocious and barbaric angle to the creation of Bangladesh.

<sup>195</sup> Soya, Ranjit, Asian Tribune 30-07-2013 http://www.asiantribune.com/node/63316 accessed on 19 April 2016.

<sup>196</sup> Tamil Guardian, *Jaffna Hospital Massacre 1968* 

<sup>197</sup> William, LF. Rushbrook. "The East Pakistan Tragedy", Tom Stacey Ltd., London 1972,p.77.

<sup>198</sup> Thaindian News 16/12/2011 http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/indianbangladeshi-war-heroes-celebrate-victory-day\_100584488.html accessed on 19 April 2016

 $<sup>{\</sup>small 199 \; Rashid,} Abu, Raw in \; Bangladesh-Portrait \; of \; an \; Aggressive \; Intelligence, \; Dakka, \\$ 

<sup>200</sup> Times of India 16 December 2003, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/pakistanpostcard/Dont-judge-jean-clad-women/articleshow/363994.cms accessed on 19 April 2016.

http://www.telegraphindia.com/1070416/asp/nation/story\_7651518.asp accessed on

<sup>202</sup> For details See. The Indiatoday June 7<sup>th</sup> 2015

http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/modi-receives-award-on-behalf-of-vajpayee-inbangladesh/1/442748.html accessed on 17 April 2016.

The Bengali Marginalization: An Indian Construct

In order to pursue her interest of Pakistan's dismemberment, India launched her campaign by first constructing the discourse of Bengali deprivation and marginalization. By this fabrication of tales of the Bengali deprivation, the Indians sowed the seeds of separatism and encouraged the slogans for partition. It has always been wrongly believed that the economic disparity and the partial polices of West Pakistan had been the major factors contributing to Pakistan dismemberment. Nevertheless, little concern has been given to the actual disparity between West and East Pakistan. Undeniably, the disparity did exist between both the wings of Pakistan but it was relentlessly exaggerated by the Indian propagandists and the Awami League. Actually, the economic disparity provided the Indian propagandas a powerful tool to attract popular support. Therefore, in order to gain popular support, the economic inequality was exaggerated. Indian propaganda can be gauged by looking into the remarks made by K. Subramanyan [Leading Indian defense and political analyst] when he remarked on the phenomena as 'Internal Colonialism'203 . In the same manner, East Pakistan was propagated as a colony of West Pakistan. Indian propaganda also influenced the western world's views that showed concerns on East Pakistan's economic status. Indians are reported to have actually paid journalists in East Bengal and also in West Pakistan to overemphasize the negative effects of the economic disparity. The Hindus of East Pakistan also played a significant part in this vilification campaign.

Indubitably, the economic differences between West Pakistan (particularly Punjab) and East Pakistan did exist but it was a continued legacy of the British. As argued by Raunaq Jahan in her book, 'Pakistan. The failure of National Integration', that much of the economic disparity was due to a historical legacy 204. Irrefutably, there were differences and gaps in industrial development and living standards between the East and the West Pakistan, even before independence. For instance, before Partition, there were 1,414 factories in undivided Bengal and after Partition 314 were inherited by East Bengal. Out of 314, most of these factories were owned by the Hindu industrialists who eventually closed their business after the creation of Pakistan205. Likewise, the Bengali Muslims did not own a single firm in 1947 and by 1959 they were the owners of 11 per cent of all the industrial assets206.

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203 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p.79.
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<sup>204</sup> Jahan, Raunaq, Pakistan-The Failure of National Integration, Columbia University Press 1972,

Therefore, a question arises can we blame Pakistan only for the century-old poor economic status of East Pakistan? The answer would be a firm negative. Even Sir Fredrick Burrow (last governor of Bengal) forecasted that 'East Bengal was condemned in the event of India's partition to turn into the greatest shum in history' 207. However, his prediction was proved wrong as East Bengal made reasonable progress during the short period of twenty-four years. In order to support the above-mentioned claim an overview of the major development projects initiated by the Central Government of Pakistan should be considered. For instance, the Kaptai dam, a major irrigation project, was completed in 1962. Additionally, the East Pakistan Steel mill in Chittagong was constructed even though, West Pakistan did not have one at that time. Dacca's main railway station was also built before the creation of Bangladesh; similarly, the second largest port in Bangladesh (Mongla Port) was also constructed before her creation. The diplomatic enclave which is even functional today was developed before the creation of Bangladesh208. Furthermore, an excerpt from Tajammul Hussian's book, (Bangladesh: Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony) would also endorse the established notion:

"Statistical figure s were put forward by some short-sighted writers stating that East Pakistan received a lower quota of investment for development from the central revenue sources. Apparently, some figures were right, although the truth was that allotments gap was reducing during late 1960s. Thus the figures mentioned by the so called economists of standing, like Rehman Sobhan who failed to obtain a higher degree in a foreign university were flawed by jaundiced views. . . Historical evidence shows clearly that East Bengal [which latter become East Pakistan and then Bangladesh] had nothing of an industrial base prior to 1947. . . East Bengal was the largest producer of jute to the tone of 80% in the world but it had not a single jute mill. They were all based around Calcutta in West Bengal (India). . . . The rapid industrial development that took place during the Pakistan period was not done by local people, but by experienced business houses like the Adamjees, Isphanis, etc.209

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Ali, Tariq, Can Pakistan Survive, Penguin Book, Chaucer Press Ltd. Sufflock UK,
1983,P.43
Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis
1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p.80
Collins, Larry; Dominque Lapierre, Freedom at Midnight, Pan Books Ltd. London,
1977, p.129
Afrasiab, 1971: Fact and Fiction. Lahore: Makhdoom Printing Press (Pvt) Ltd,2015,p.135.
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It is true that economic grievances did exist in East Pakistan, but were exaggerated by the Indian media and the Awami League to fuel separatism in Pakistan. This viewpoint is endorsed by Sarmila Bose in her book, *Dead Reckoning*, she writes,

'There is no doubt that Bengalis perceived themselves as victim of longstanding discriminatory and exploitative policies, even though they sometimes cited the wrong statistic to prove it — that is, statistic that showed "disparity" but not necessarily discrimination". East Pakistan was poorer and economically weaker than West Pakistan at the formation of the country in 1947, and there were historically few East Pakistan in the civil services, the armed forces and managerial position. Disparity, therefore, was a reality, and it could not vanish overnight. The question that whether there was discrimination required the scrutiny of other statistics—for instance, ones that would show whether opportunities were being fairly opened up to East Pakistan '210.

She also acknowledges that 'the true extent of 'discrimination is a matter of controversy'.

Apart from the discourse of economic disparity, ignoring Bengalis for political positions in the state institutions was also considered as another source of hostility between West and East Pakistan.

Although, there is definite evidence available, contrary to the prevailing ones, that in twenty-three-year period, when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan, many Bengali leaders occupied top positions. To illustrate, Khawaja Nazimuddin (governor general in 1948), Mohammad Ali Bogra (PM in 1953), Hussain

Shaheed Suhrawardy (PM in 1956), even Iskandar Mirza, the first Pakistani President in 1956 was a Bengali. Another allegation is about the limited number of Bengali officials in the civil services. It is believed that West Pakistan did not provide equal job opportunities to the Bengalis. In order to respond to this allegation a comparison must be carried out of the number of Bengali officers before and after Partition. Nurunnabi Chowdhary was the only Bengali Muslim civil servant (ICS officer) in East Pakistan before Pakistan's inception; additionally; there were a little more than ten officers from Bengal serving in various ranks in the Royal Indian army, navy, and the air force in 1947211. But, in 1971, when Bangladesh was created, a thousand civil servants from East Pakistan were working at different levels in the various civil service departments. East Bengalis were employed as per requirements which can also be ascertained by the fact that East Bengali scientists were doing research in the field of nuclear energy as well. Moreover, it's an established fact that, in terms of employment, East Pakistan was getting much more shares as compared to Balochistan, Sindh and Southern Punjab. From 1947 to 1958 the power structure was equally shared between both the wings of Pakistan.

Hussain, Mohammad Tajammul, Banglsdesh Victim of Black Propoganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony, The Hilal Publishers Ltd, London 1996. 23-24
 Bose, Sarmila, Dead Reckoning Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War. C.Hurts & CO, London, 2011, p.20

Power Structure between the two Wings<sup>212</sup>, [1947 – 1958] West Pakistan East Pakistan Head of State 02 02 Prime Minster 03 04 Members of Constituent Assemblies 27 27

It is reiterated that this effort is not to conceal the political partiality carried out by the political elites of the central government, but its an attempt to unearth the role of the Indian government and the Awami League in constructing the exaggerated notion of the Bengali deprivation. Indisputably, the Bengalis were marginalized economically and politically, but these marginalized sentiments were exploited and blown out of proportion through the sophisticated propaganda of India and her cronies.

Afrasiab, 1971: Fact and Fiction. Lahore: Makhdoom Printing Press (Pvt) Ltd,2015,p.134-135
 Source: Jahan, Raunaq, Pakistan. The failure of National Integration. Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 25.

Hindu Media: the Indian propaganda Machine

Indian print media was the most effective weapon in her psychological campaign against united Pakistan, which India initiated soon after Partition. In 1947, there were no newspapers in East Pakistan, as before Partition, Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan's daily 'Azad' (published from Calcutta) was the only reliable source of news for Muslims. The Indian establishment, fully aware of Daily Azad's influence, after Partition demanded an unfair amount of income tax as a plot to render it financially unviable. Maulana cornered, abandoned his printing house, property, and house, and fled to East Pakistan. Thus, the Indian establishment successfully banished the only source of accurate news of the Muslims <sup>213</sup>. Another Muslim-owned newspaper, the Morning News, met with the same fate. As part of their malign campaign, the Hindu newspapers launched a tirade against the call of Partition, which continued in post-Partition period also. Some of the popular newspapers were: Ananda Bazar Patrika (Bengali), The Jugantar (Bengali), and those published in English, namely, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Hindustan Standard, The Nationalist, The Advance, and The Eastern Express. All these newspapers were the mouthpiece of the Indian government. From the very inception of Pakistan these newspapers spurned negative propaganda against the unity of Pakistan.

The role of Indian journalists in the creation of Bangladesh can be gauged from the fact that in 2012, fifty Indians were awarded the 'Bangladesh Liberation War Honour' and the 'Friends of Liberation War Honour' for their services in Bangladesh's creation; 10 of these 50 awardees were Indian Journalists<sup>214</sup>. The Indian media initiated its powerful rhetoric after the emergence of agitation in East Bengal against President Ayub Khan in 1969. The All India Radio (AIR) from its Calcutta's station, broadcast a daily program titled 'Apper Bangla, Oupar Bangla' (this side of Bengal and the other side of Bengal) which openly endorsed the Bangladeshi cause<sup>215</sup>. Moreover, the AIR also broadcast a regular show endorsing and propagating Mujib's 6- Point formula for attaining East Pakistan's autonomy. The AIR also broadcast programs by entitling them as 'Exploitation of East Bengal' by West Pakistan; such programs were aired regularly to sow the seeds of ethnic confrontation between Bengalis and Punjabis. Another tool of the Indian propaganda was installed in Calcutta entitled 'Radio Bangladesh'. The prime aim was to propagate hatred against West Pakistan and the Pakistani army. Even in April 1971, the *Hindustan Standard* reported the 'Fall of Dacca' in its banner headline <sup>216</sup>. In the most part of 1970, the Indian newspapers highlighted the economic disparity between the West and East Pakistan vehemently constructing the image of East Pakistan as an epitome of the deprivation of all political rights.

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 $^{214}$  For details See, Daily Star 21 October 2012, http://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail 254693 accessed on 20 April, 2016

The effective use of the Indian propaganda machine won compassion for the Bangladeshi cause from all over the world, by making their baseless and fictional stories immensely believable. For instance, the All India Radio broadcast that all economic activity, including the export and functionality of the jute mills, had halted. But this baseless report was proved wrong in the April report of the *Daily Telegraph* 217. The Indian print and Radio were exaggerating almost every fact. They attributed every criminal act to Pakistan's central government and army. The Indian mass media would publish fictional stories, to promote their cause of Pakistan's dismemberment. For case in point, the All India Radio reported that several Bengali professors had been killed by the Pakistani army. But interestingly, those professors who were claimed to be killed not only denied this report by themselves but even appeared on the Dacca Television to prove their fallacy <sup>218</sup>. The Indian media not only reported baseless news but also defined every killing on ethnic and religious grounds. It was widely propagated that the Bengali Hindus were facing genocide by the Muslim forces of West Pakistan. India legitimized its physical intervention in East Pakistan by convincing its masses of the impending danger, confronting the Hindus in East Pakistan. In many cases, it was reported that several Hindu teachers and professors had been killed by the Pakistani army. Such stories were also disseminated through the international media. However, Masud Muffi (former Education Minister in East Bengal) revealed in his article (published in the Urdu digest, the 1974 December edition) that, 'Immediately after March 1971 Army action, almost all Hindu professors and teachers had resumed their duties and that twenty-five Hindu Professors of the Dacca University were given protection by the government when they demanded' 219. Accordingly Kuldip Nayar (Indian Journalist) observed that, 'Newspapers reported battles that were never there' .<sup>220</sup>

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    216 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East Pakistan Crisis
    1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p. 284.
    217 Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p. 144
    218 Inc.;
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Apart from the newspaper and radio propaganda, books were also utilized as a source of Indian propaganda against the unity of Pakistan. The Bengali society was flooded with hundreds and thousands of books published in Calcutta written by Hindus, injecting hatred in the Bengali youth against West Pakistan. Even the word 'Bangladesh' was first used by a novelist 'Bimal Mitra', whose novels enjoyed immense popularity among the Bengali youth<sup>221</sup>. The educational institutions in East Bengal provided the Hindu teachers and professors another platform to indoctrinate the Bengali youth with their rebellious views. The Hindu teachers and instructors played a leading and a vital role in poisoning the East Pakistani youth against the central government. Most of the books recommended by the Hindu teachers were against the ideology of Pakistan. Instead of Jinnah's photograph, the images of Nehru and Gandhi were displayed in the educational institutions222. The Congress leaders were idealized by the Bengali students due to the teachings of their Hindu teachers. Particularly, Dacca University was the centre of such indoctrination. For instance, in the context of the language issue, the Hindu instructors and professors told their students that,

'If they [Bengalis] allow a little ground in the matter of language, the Urdu speaking non-Bengalis would usurp their rights straight away, and rule over East Pakistan as a colony' 223.

- <sup>219</sup> For details, see Article by Masud Mufti, former Education Secretary of East Pakistan, Urdu Digest(Monthly), December 1974, p.35.
- <sup>220</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis

1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p.285

- <sup>221</sup> Maswani, A.M.K Subversion in East Pakistan, Amir Publications, Lahore,1979,p.110.
- 222 Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984p.7.
- 223 Maswani, A.M.K Subversion in East Pakistan, Amir Publications, Lahore, 1979, p. 110.

Such a level of propaganda indicates that the Indian government was quick enough to infiltrate in the Pakistani society. Without having any effective means, the government of East Pakistan was unable to halt such views and propaganda. Consequently, the toxic ideas implanted by the Indian government and the local Hindus, gradually started to harm the unity of Pakistan. The negligence of the central government further encouraged the propagandist India to launch more effective campaigns targeting the integrity and notion of a united Pakistan.

The international media, influenced by the Indian government and the Indian media, published the Indian concocted ideas of the suppression of the people of East Pakistan. To demonstrate, the stories carried out by the BBC were misrepresented in such a manner that people aware of the reality nicknamed it as the 'Bharat Broadcasting Corporation' 224'. The international print media was also highlighting only the half-truths. It presented fabricated stories blaming the Pakistani forces for instigating barbaric killings. The Indian news agencies to strengthen the Indian baseless propaganda, provided biased reports to the foreign-owned new agencies. The Indian government would arrange visits of international news reporters to the refugee camps organized by the Indian government. These refugee camps were exclusively set-up to legitimize the Indian claims and propaganda. Maharaj Krishan Rasgotra (Indian Ambassador in Washington) wrote two books known as the Green and Red books and published them in USA. These books were distributed widely to students, the press, and the US congress. He also convinced forty US senators to visit the refugee camps in India. These senators visited the refugee camps and returned staunchly endorsing the Indian stance. Likewise, almost all of Indian foreign diplomatic missions were given the same task to propagate the Indian stance. In response to the Indian and foreign propaganda, Pakistan's leading newspapers such as Dawn, Jang (Urdu newspaper), and the Pakistan Observer were presented a totally different story. The masses in West Pakistan were kept in dark and only the news of Pakistan army's battles and victories were highlighted. But, they failed to accentuate the atrocities of the Mukti Bahini, unable to counter the Indian genocidal rhetoric.

<sup>224</sup> William, LF. Rushbrook., The East Pakistan Tragedy, Tom Stacey Ltd, London 1972, p.82

All in all, the Indian media vigorously propagated her case against the unity of Pakistan by circulating baseless and fictional stories to raise ethnic confrontation in Pakistan. The Indian propaganda succeeded in seeding and promoting the sentiments of separatism and regionalism, which in the future, provided the base for the creation of Bangladesh. The Indian media was equally supported by the anti-state elements in East Pakistan in her campaign against Pakistan's unity. The role of the international media in support of India also played a vital role in the disintegration of Pakistan. The support of the international media supported the Indian propaganda. Thus, through her newspapers, books, radio broadcasting and effective use of the diplomatic channels, India accomplished success in fertilizing the ground for statutory intervention in East Pakistan. To sum up, General Tikka Khan was accurately in his remarks on Indian propaganda in his interview with *The Newsweek* of  $10^{th}$  April 1972 when he said: 'to this day the world still believes we started everything. This is a complete distortion of history . . . Mujib wanted a showdown. During the struggle that followed, the Bengalis exaggerated their causalities by a thousand percent or more. Mujib says there were 200,000 rapes. A Roman Catholic organization, which the press has chosen not to quote, comes up with a figure of 4,000. We have been the victims of a propaganda machine '225.

The Political Landscape

The Indian interference in the political landscape of East Pakistan was another important source of generating confrontation between East and West Pakistan. Mujib's intentions for the disintegration of Pakistan emerged soon after the establishment of Pakistan. This reality was endorsed by Syed Badrul Ahsan (leading Bangladeshi intellectual) in an article published on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2014. He writes,

"The irony in the Mujib story is that having come into politics, like thousands of others, on the bandwagon of Muslim League politics in the 1940s; he quickly determined that he did not need to be like the others. Within a year of the establishment of Pakistan, he knew that the new state was a threat to Bengali '226.

Likewise, in another article published earlier in the *Daily Star* on 14<sup>th</sup> August 2012, he stated that, 'sometime in the later part of the 1950s, Sheikh Mujib, then a young politician, threw a question at the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Huseyn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> General Tikka Khan's Interview, The Newsweek, 10 April 1972.

<sup>226 226</sup> A Nations's Nadir, Dhakkacourier, https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-3404866491.html 15 August 2014,accessed on 21 April, 2016

Shaheed Suhrawardy (Suhrawardy was from East Pakistan). He asked, "Is it not possible for East Pakistan to become independent someday?" In a state of disbelief, the Prime Minister admonished Mujib, saying, "Do not ever entertain such thoughts. Pakistan has been achieved at a huge cost and its unity needs to be preserved". Mujib murmured, almost muttered: "We shall do our job when the time comes '227.

Mujib's approach was wholeheartedly endorsed by the Indians. The initial Indian involvement in East Pakistan started in 1963. The Indians, reaping the benefits of the propaganda of economic disparity, pursued the disgruntled Bengali servicemen and established contacts with them. After gaining initial support, they encouraged the Bengali servicemen to set up contacts to widen their network for starting a revolutionary movement. The most successful contact established was with Mujib, which was sustained by his frequent meetings with the Indian officials. Mr K. Subramanyam accepted that Mujib had regular meetings with Indira Gandhi<sup>228</sup>. One of such meeting was held at Agartala (Indian town) which in history is famous because of the Agartala Conspiracy case.

Agartala Conspiracy

It was July 1966, when the counter intelligence section of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate of Pakistan through one of its sources came to know that an organization has been created and was assigned to separate East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The head of the counter intelligence, Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Amir Khan (a Bengali citizen of East Pakistan), was flabbergasted when he learnt that Lieutenant Commander Muazzam Hussein (Pakistan Navy) and Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman were the key participants of the newly-formed organization<sup>229</sup>. Therefore, Colonel Amir continued to follow-up the lead with several trips to East Pakistan. Eventually, he succeeded in seeking out a tape of a conversation between the suspected persons. He also noted that frequent meetings between the Indian High Commission officials and the Awami League leadership were taking place at Agartala230. The occurrence of such covert meetings was admitted by both Mujib and the Indian authorities after the creation of Bangladesh231. Such meetings were taking place since 1962. To illustrate, Subir Bhaumik in his book *The Agartala Doctrine* asserts that,

Ahsan Syed Badrul, Image of the Father, Daily Star,
 http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/print\_news.php?nid=246146 15 August,2012 accessed on 21 April,2016.
 Interview, K. Subramanyan; Indian Council of World Affairs, Symposium 31 March, 1971.
 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, p.276-277

'An entry in the diary of the late Smarajit Choudhary, then the sub divisional officer of Khowai, is perhaps the only document available that helps us to establish the date and time of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib-urRehman's visit to Agartala. The diary entry dated Monday, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1962 says: Today at about 1300 hrs, Mr Mujib-ur-Rehman, Amir Hussain and T. Choudhary arrived through Asharambari. They have been sent to Teliamura under an instruction from District Magistrate. From Teliamura, Mujib and two of his associates were driven to Agartala in two jeeps by Umesh Chandra Singha, brother of CM Schindralal Singha' 232.

The Indians assured the members of the Awami League and the disgruntled elements of the armed forces that India would provide the needed arms and ammunitions for their struggle against united Pakistan. Such promises were made by Mr P. N. Ojha in September 1966233. Thereafter, a meeting was fixed on 12th July 1967 in which members of the Indian intelligence and conspirators from East Pakistan met at Agartala for talks on Indian military aid. Meanwhile, after gathering insightful information about these meetings, the Ayub regime ordered the apprehending of all those involved directly. Consequently, forty-six East Pakistanis were held on the charges of antistate activities and planning for East Pakistan's secession. The East Pakistani press lambasted the plotters and demanded punishment for them. The real trouble started after Mujib's name was included as an accomplice. Subsequent to this claim, the press of East Pakistan asked for open trials. The Awami League went for strikes and instigated students to hold demonstrations against the inclusion of their leader's name. Mujib's popularity at that time can be gauged by looking at the number of protestors. Safdar Mahmood n his book *Pakistan Divided* writes that, 'the demonstration was not joined by more than 150 students. It seemed that the reaction was not as expected '234. Although, Mujib's popularity dwindled after his involvement in the Agartala Case, but the unfortunate mishandling of the Agartala case by the Ayub's government generated sympathizers for Mujib which allowed his group of traitors to grow gradually. The political chaos and uprising against Ayub's regime in late 1965 diverted the government's attention away from Mujib. In the whole month of January 1969, demonstrations were staged in East Pakistan against Mujib's arrest.

230 Ibid.

An important aspect of the Agartala case has always been kept in dark. It has been an established fact that the prosecution had strong evidences against the accused. For instance, the confession statements of *Lt Muzamil Hussain, Mirza Mohammad Rameez, Seraj-elaIslam and Ameer Hussain Miya* were enough to charge Mujib and others for treason. One such confession of Lt Muzamil Hussain submitted to the court was:

'I am from Memon singh and was recruited in Navy in 1944. I myself confess without any torture that I along with my comrades had done many meetings for the liberation of East Pakistan. During these meetings it was decided that for economic prosperity of East Pakistan, it has to be separated from West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman assured us of all kinds of support and that including economic aid'235. Similarly, another confession statement made by Ameer Hussain Miya stated: A meeting took place in March 1966 in which Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and Lt Muazzim Hussein along with others were present. Muazzim Hussein briefed us that after receiving weapons from India the operation would be started and the general public would support our mission. He also said that nothing would satisfy us other than the Independence of Bangladesh'<sup>236</sup>.

Despite having concrete evidence against Mujib and other accused, the government mishandled the case and had to withdraw the treason case against Mujib. Ayub Khan's strong desire for re- election and the lethargic approach of the state institutions, eventually made Mujib a free man. Eventually, the Ayub government made Mujib a hero out of his treacherous conduct. Accordingly, opined by Abdul Hafeez Kardar (Prominent PPP Leader) 'Ayub made a martyr of Mujib by insimuating the Agartala conspiracy '237. The Agartala case actually increased Mujib's popularity. After gaining the required popularity Mujib-led Awami League entered the General election of 1970.

<sup>231</sup> Rose, Sission Richard and Leo E., War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh, University of California Press, Berkely, LA, 1990 p.42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Bhaumik, Subir, The Agartala Doctrine, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016, p, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994,p278.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p.48.

<sup>235</sup> Translated from Rana Rehman Zafar, "Mashriqi Pakistani ke aledagee ke Dardnaak kahani", Asian Publishers Lahore, 1974,p.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Ibid,p.51-52

The Awami league entered the election campaign of 1970 on the basis of spreading hatred against West Pakistan. Exploiting the economic grievances of the Bengali populace, Mujib made West Pakistan the sole author of every wrong in East Pakistan. In his speeches, Mujib lambasted the central government being a tool for East Pakistan's exploitation. He would blame West Pakistan for robbing East Pakistan of her capital, foreign exchange, and economic progress. He spoke the same language, which was being used in the Indian newspapers, and thus provided legitimacy to India's baseless claims.

The Awami League organized its party workers from early 1970 and under the leadership of Mujib; the party covered almost all of the East Pakistan and poisoned the simple Bengali people in considering West Pakistan is their sole enemy. The whole campaign of Mujib resembled the Indian campaign against Pakistan. He convinced his listeners to believe that only he and his party could end their economic marginalization. He claimed that his six points are the only solution for East Pakistan's problems. Another important aspect of Mujib's election campaign has always been neglected; the sources of finance for the election campaign of the Awami league. His and his party leaders' extensive travelling, propaganda campaign, payment to party supporters, etc., in fact the whole election campaign was quite expensive. Most of the finances for Mujib's campaign were from the Hindu community who had direct links with the Indian establishment238.

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    <sup>237</sup> Kardar, Abdul Hafeez, Pakistan's Soldiers of Fortune, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1988, p. 133.
    <sup>238</sup> William, LF. Rushbrook., The East Pakistan Tragedy, Tom Stacey Ltd, London
    1972, p.44.
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The elections were scheduled in October 1970, but a disastrous flood struck East Pakistan in September. The flood resulted in the displacement of millions of people and disruption of the communication means. The Awami League leadership exploited the situation and provoked the Bengali sentiments further, against the central government. Mujib travelled the affected areas and led a hatred campaign against West Pakistan. The election atmosphere was marked by the slogans of regionalism and nationalism. The presence of the political bigotry in terms of regionalism may be seen by the fact that, only eight candidates were nominated by the Awami league in West Pakistan, whereas, from the Bhutto-led PPP no tickets were awarded to any candidates in East Pakistan.

Amid regionalism, hatred for West Pakistan and natural disasters, Pakistan went to polls on 7<sup>th</sup> December 1970. The Awami League scored a convincing victory in East Pakistan, by securing 160 out of 162 reserved seats for East Pakistan. While PPP managed to get 81 seats against the 138 allocated seats for West Pakistan. Here, an analysis of the election results, provided by Safdar Mehmood in his book, *Pakistan Divided* would reveal the popularity of Mujib's mandate. He writes,

'According to the announcement of the Election Commission, 57% of the total enrolled voters actually participated in the polls and the Awami league secured 75% of the votes cast. In other words, the Awami league secured 42% of the total registered votes, out of which the Hindus constituted 15% of the total and, it's believed, Hindu voted for the Awami League. If the number of bogus votes is placed at 10% which is a very reasonable figure, the Awami League secured only 17% of the Muslim votes in East Pakistan. Moreover, it is also beyond doubt that a very great majority of the Muslims in East Pakistan did not participate in the polls '239'.

The statistics of the election results demonstrate vividly that the majority of Muslims in East Pakistan were not supporting the mandate of the Awami League. As such, an important role was played by the Hindu community in Mujib's victory. The majority of the Hindu community had contacts with their counterparts in Calcutta. Therefore, the Indian influence, in the shape of the Hindu support of Mujib, demonstrates that the Indians covertly funded the Awami League election campaign and also influenced the election results. Although, the election of 1970 were considered as free and fair, there were reports of a mass rigging taking place particularly in East Pakistan. To illustrate, a large numbers of the registered voters in East Pakistan had reportedly confessed that their votes were cast even before they could reach the polling station240. Apart from the actual rigging by the Awami League volunteers, violence was also used as a tool to get more support. Pressure of every kind was exerted by the fanatic volunteers of the Awami League. The situation reported after the elections proves that, organized violent campaigns were led by the Awami League volunteers to terrorize the common people. Moreover, those who rejected Mujib's mandate were targeted, murdered, and looted in the riots and killings of early  $1971^{241}$ .

# <sup>239</sup> Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p, 90.

Since the landslide victory of the Awami League was not even expected by its leadership, Mujib became more rigid with arrogance and confidence. The post-election scenario further deteriorated when power struggle surfaced between Mujib and Bhutto. The central government, led by President Yahya tried its best to reach a conclusive decision, but a decision could not be reached owing to the rigidity of both Mujib and Bhutto. Mujib was invited to West Pakistan on several occasions to settle the ongoing power crisis, to which he refused. His rigid response made President Yahya visit East Pakistan himself. Even Bhutto along with other West Pakistani leadership visited East Pakistan for settling the power issue. However, owing to Mujib's uncompromising attitude, the efforts and visits made by the West Pakistani leadership remained futile. Indira Gandhi meanwhile shrewdly exploited the political crisis by using her diplomatic channels. In order to get the support of the Western democratic regimes, she propagated that the military regime in Pakistan is not ready to transfer power to the elected parties<sup>2,42</sup>. The Pakistani government, indulged in the ongoing power race remained unable to counter such Indian propaganda.

From Mujib's inflexible attitude, it looked like he was following a certain script. He was so rigid with his six-point demand that he sent a message to President Yahya that if the six points were not accepted entirely 'rivers of blood will flow'243'. And his claim proved to be true as he made blood flow in the streets of Dacca after President Yahya postponed the National Assembly session in early March1971.

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240 Ibid,
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Indian flight Hijacking Drama

On 30 th January 1971, an Indian Fokker friendship aircraft made an emergency landing at the Lahore airport. Following the landing, it was declared that the plane has been hijacked by two Kashmiris for registering their outrage against the Indian-backed Kashmiri government. Consequently, breaching the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) rules and convention, India on 2 February 1971 banned Pakistani civil and military flights over the Indian Territory

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> William, LF. Rushbrook. The East Pakistan Tragedy, Tom Stacey Ltd, London 1972,p 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, p.296

lying between West and East Pakistan. The Indian media and politicians accused the Pakistani government for engineering the incident. Later it was learnt that it was, in fact, an Indian engineered hijacking which was blamed on Pakistan. The case took an interesting turn when a letter from Sheikh Abdullah, a prominent Kashmiri leader, to Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan, Indian humanist, was published in the Indian Express on 15th February 1971. In the letter Sheikh Abdullah clearly accused Hashim (the prime suspect in the hijacking) being an Indian agent and mentioned that his plan and activities were entirely collaborated with the Indian authorities in New Delhi and Srinagar244. In light of this letter, the Pakistani government formed a judicial commission under Mr Justice Noorul Arfin. The inquiry commission presented its report on 15th April 1971 (Annexure-7). After thorough examinations of the incident, the Commission reportedly found that the principal accused, Hashim had continuous contacts with and was being supervised by the Indian Intelligence agencies. Furthermore, the arms consisting of a revolver and a grenade which were used in the hijacking were dummies. The Commission concluded that the whole incident was an Indian engineered activity to disrupt the air communication between West and East Pakistan, amid the political crisis in the central government <sup>245</sup>. Another confirmation of the Indian engineered hijacking drama came from R. K. Yadav, former R&AW Officer's book *Mission R&AW* where he confessed that.

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<sup>243</sup> William, LF. Rushbrook. The East Pakistan Tragedy, Tom Stacey Ltd, London
<sup>1972</sup>, p.48.
<sup>244</sup> Ibid, p. 52.
<sup>245</sup> For details see: Findings of Judicial enquiry commission on "Hijacking of Indian plane to Lahore", April 20,1971
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'On January 30, 1971 Hashim Qureshi along with another operative Ashraf Qureshi, his relative was allowed to hijack a Fokker Friendship plane, Ganga of Indian Airlines with 26 passengers on board from Srinagar airport, and to force Captain Kachru, the pilot of the plane, to take the plane to Lahore airport. R&AW allowed him to carry a grenade and a toy pistol inside the plane'246.

Refugee Conundrum and Indian Propaganda: (The Mystery of the East Pakistan Refugees)

The Indian establishment launched another propaganda campaign by establishing refugee camps in West Bengal after the military operation in East Pakistan. On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1971, the central government in Pakistan called for a military operation to control the ongoing riots and chaos initiated by the militant wing of the Awami League. India had created the refugee camps in areas bordering East Pakistan to achieve her nefarious plans. These refugee camps were utilized to attract international support and to provide legitimacy to the Indian interference in East Pakistan. The refugee card was widely used by the Indian media to provide a humanistic shield to her vicious aims. Furthermore, these refugee camps were also used as military training camps, where the Indian military trained and armed the militants of Mujib. A resolution was passed in the Indian parliament on 27th March 1971 which assured the Indian support and sympathy to the militants of the Awami League247. By the resolution and the directives of Indira Gandhi, the Indian borders were opened. Kuldip Nayar, a prominent Indian journalist, noted in his book *Distant Neighbours*, remarked that,

' Eighty five percent of those Bengalis who left East Pakistan were Hindus who would have gone away to West Bengal after partition in 1947 in any case '248. Additionally, the Hindu-Muslim ratio of refugees was 80:20, Hindu being 80 per cent and Muslims 20 per cent<sup>249</sup>. Such figures demonstrate that even the so-called refugees that crossed the Indian border were actually Hindus, who were against the creation of Pakistan since Partition. Leading her propaganda campaign, Indira Gandhi on 14th May 1971 practically wrote to all the heads of governments and the head of states to pressurize Pakistan250. After establishing the refugee camps, Indira Gandhi directed all her foreign missions for propagating the Indian cause. In the coming months, the Indian foreign missions launched a well-crafted diplomatic mission to peruse the international community against the central government of Pakistan. Special Indian representatives and ministers travelled to the capitals of West and East Asia, Europe, America, and Northern Africa. Swaran Singh, the then foreign minister, made visits to major capitals, including Moscow, Washington, Ottawa, Paris, Bonn, and London. Apart from diplomats, human right activists and civil society representatives such as Javaparkash Narayan, were also dispatched to the world's major capitals to mould the public opinion. Their aim was not to generate help and assistance for refugees but they were actually directed to build public awareness and were made to pressurize their host governments to endorse the Indian approach. In this whole campaign, India presented herself as an unselfish, humanitarian power. Similarly, numerous visits of the foreign delegations, parliamentarians, journalists, and government officials were arranged to the refugee camps. Unaware of the normal low living standards in parts of the subcontinent and particularly in the rural areas of Bengal, the foreign delegates had a devastating experience. Consequently, all these visitors concluded that they must pressurize their governments to build economic, political, and moral pressure on government of Pakistan. The Democratic Party in the United States called for the termination of all aid to Pakistan, and the Canadian government's attitude in her aid to Pakistan also changed accordingly<sup>251</sup>. Another important aspect of the Indian policy toward these refugee camps also demonstrates her conspiracy behind the installation of these camps.

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<sup>246</sup> Yadav RK, Mission R&AW Vol I, Manas Publications, New Dehli, 2014, p.228.
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An important question on the Indian policy towards the Bengali refugees arises that, if the Indian headache was the refugee conundrum, then why the Indian government did not permit Prince Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to visit these camps in order to assess the help India required? On what logical grounds the Indian foreign Secretary T. K. Kaul told the United States on 16<sup>th</sup> July 1971 that, 'India would not accept UN personnel on its side of the border even to handle refugees '252. The answer can be found in the same speech where he clearly mentions that these camps were actually the centre for guerrilla training camps and used for organizing the militants and terrorists of Mukti Bahinis against the Pakistan army. He stated, 'India would not accept any proposal which would curb guerrilla activity from its territory' 253. Such a blunt confession by the Indian Foreign Secretary exposes how India constructed the humanitarian crisis of refugees to alter world opinion against Pakistan. It not only stopped the UN's way to reach these camps but World Health Organization (WHO) was also not permitted to reach these camps. The Indian Parliamentarian from Alipore Shri Indraji Gupta, remarked in the Lok Sabha, the Indian parliament, 'that relief goods coming from Denmark, Canada and UN were not being cleared from Dum Dum airport, Calcutta '254. The Indian aims were not to accommodate the so-called refugees but in fact she used this as a trump card to garner international support and to clear her way for a military intervention. The Pakistani government even approached the Indian government in November 1971 to solve the entire East Pakistan issue including the return of the refugees255, but the rigid Indian posture was to accept nothing short of the dismemberment of Pakistan. The Indian government propagated in the refugee camps that it will be a life-threatening risk to return. And if anybody tried to go, they were forcibly stopped. Many returnees reported that Indian forces had opened fire on their caravans256. Even Indira Gandhi openly confessed in a television interview to a French television on 8 November 1971; she remarked, 'Independence of Bangladesh. Free Bangladesh was inevitable. . . . India would not permit the return of Refugees until Sheikh Mujib was released '257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Salik Siddiq, Witness to Surrender, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1978, p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Nayar, Kuldip, Distant Neighbors, Vikas publication house, New Dehli p. 155

 $<sup>^{249}\,</sup>Srinath\,Raghavan, 1971\,\,A\,\,Global\,History\,\,of\,the\,\,Creation\,\,of\,\,Bangladesh\,\,Harvard\,\,University\,\,Press,\,London\,\,2013, p.76$ 

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250 Ibid,p.77
251 William,LF. Rushbrook. The East Pakistan Tragedy, Tom Stacey Ltd, London 1972,p
48.
252 Dr Henry Kissinger, White House years, Little Brown and Company, Boston USA,
1979,p.863.
253 Ibid.
254 2 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis,Lahore 1994,p.82.
255 Ibid
256 Mehmood,Safdar, Pakistan Divided,Ferozsons Ltd,Lahore, 1984,p148
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To conclude, the refugee conundrum was a mere Indian construct, to win over the international support and to organize the Mukti Bahini to effectively carry out terrorist activities in East Pakistan.

India in Search of Allies (Indo-USSR friendship treaty August 1971)

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.pg 148

Amid the Cold War, the bipartite international political stage was led by two super powers- the US and the USSR. The global politics revolved around the policies of both these mighty superpowers. India aiming for military intervention in East Pakistan searched for allies to isolate Pakistan. She approached almost all the major capitals to pursue their governments to support the Indian policies. Through her diplomatic channels, she tried to isolate Pakistan, and when the National Assembly session was postponed by President Yahya, India launched her diplomatic offensive specifically in the West. Indian diplomats exploited the political chaos in Pakistan, by presenting it as a deliberate postponement by the military regime of President Yahya. In October and November 1971, Indira Gandhi visited USA and twelve other western capitals to win over their governments, and to portray Pakistan as a colonial state258. Exploiting the miseries of refugees generated by her own government, she also portrayed the Pakistani government as an inhuman and atrocious government. The real aim was to generate support for her upcoming military adventurism. The obstacles in her way were Pakistan's relationship with China and USA. To neutralize the Chinese threat, India exploited the already deteriorating relationship between China and USSR in 1971, and in no time reached out to USSR. Consequently, a treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation was signed on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1971 (Annexure-6). Article IX of the treaty stated,

' Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in armed conflict with the other party. In the event of either party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the high contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultation in order to remove such threats and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries '259 .

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    258 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis
    1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994,p.297.
    259 See the Annexure 6 TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.
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The above-mentioned article clearly defines the scope of the treaty which basically encouraged India to advance her military adventurisms against Pakistan. The Indian diplomatic campaign had succeeded in shape of the Indo-USSR treaty and it also enabled her to acquire military aid, support and backing in the United Nation Security Council and most importantly she acquired the Soviet guarantee to intervene if China intervened on Pakistan's behalf. Furthermore, the treaty made it clear to deter any sort of war against India.

R&AW in East Pakistan (The Creation of the Mukti Bahini)

In 1968, the Indian establishment formed R&AW- the Research and Analysis Wing to initiate a covert operation for Pakistan's dismemberment. Bahukutumbi Raman-former head of the counterterrorism division of R&AW in his book, 'The *Kaoboys of R&AW*', confessed that,

The late Rameshwar Nath Kao, who heads the external intelligence division of the IB, was appointed by Indira Gandhi as the head of the R&AW, when it was formed on 21st September, 1968. In the first few months after its formation, he gave it two priority tasks; to strengthen its capability for the collection of intelligence about Pakistan and China and for covert actions in East Pakistan'260.

Thus, the Indian military started its campaign for the installation of a paramilitary force in 1968. The first task was to build a network in East Pakistan. Therefore, the Indian were quick in forming a network of relationships with the Bengali political leaders and government officials in East Pakistan. According to B. Raman, the R&AW's operations were five fold.

' Provision of intelligence to the policy makers and the armed forces; to train the Bengali freedom fighters in clandestine training camps; to network with Bengali public servant from East Pakistan posted in West Pakistan and in Pakistan's diplomatic missions abroad and persuade them to co-operate with the freedom-fighters and to help in the freedom struggle by providing intelligence; to mount a special operation in the CHT against the sanctuaries and training camps of the Naga and Mizo hostiles; and to organize a psychological warfare campaign against the Pakistani rulers by disseminating reports about the massacres of the Bengalis in Pakistan and the exodus of refugees' 261.

### <sup>260</sup> B.Raman The kaobovs of R&AW Lancer Publishers and Distributors, New Dehli.2013.

The blunt confession made by B. Raman clearly demonstrates the level of involvement of India in the dismemberment of Pakistan. The foremost job of R&AW was the installation of the Mukti Bahinis. With Indian assistance the militant wing of the Awami League later known as the Mukti Bahini was established in July 1970. It was then a terrorizing force that forced people to support the Awami League in the elections of 1970262. After the session of National Assembly was postponed in March 1971, the Awami League conveyed to R&AW their need for ammunition for creating chaos. It called for mortars and machine guns, medicine, 3 million tons of food supplies, transportation, and communication equipment for collaboration and quick movement within India. It also asked for a helicopter, a small passenger aircraft, and a radio transmitter for broadcasting purposes<sup>263</sup>. As accepted by Brigadier Jagdev Singh, "The resistance needed planning weapons training, and leadership and only India could provide them "264". Therefore, a full-scale training campaign was launched. Initially, six training camps were set-up in India. Each camp was under the command of an Indian Brigadier<sup>265</sup>. In these training camps, the militants of Mukti Bahini were provided arms and ammunition and were trained for guerrilla activities. In the first phase, Indian forces trained these

militants to create chaos in East Pakistan and to engage the Pakistani army in East Pakistan; the second phase was the Indian intervention, which she carried out at the later stage. The extremists of Mukti Bahini entered in East Bengal after getting initial training and thus a reign of terror was unleashed. The extremists launched a massive genocidal campaign. Their indiscriminate killings campaign was overtly and covertly supported by the Indian establishment. The detail account of this atrocious reign of terror collectively led by the Mukti Bahini and India would be discussed in the next chapter.

261 ns:a

 $262\ A frasiab,\ 1971: Fact\ and\ Fiction.\ Lahore:\ Makhdoom\ Printing\ Press\ (Pvt)\ Ltd, 2015, p.77.$ 

<sup>263</sup> Srinath Raghavan, "1971-A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh" Harvard University Press London, 2013, p.57-58

<sup>264</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis

1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p. 230.

265 Ibid.

#### Conclusion

To conclude, India followed a multi-prong grand strategy to dismember Pakistan in 1971. She utilized the political, economic, social, and geographical gap between East and West Pakistan to materialize her ancestral dream of Pakistan's dismemberment. India engineered the whole process of creation of Bangladesh. By getting support from the anti-state elements of East Bengal, India succeeded in dismembering Pakistan. Today, it has been almost forty-five years that India created her illegitimate progeny, but the wounds in the hearts of Pakistanis remain fresh. The contemporary policies of expansionist India are identical to her past polices. She is still interfering in the internal affairs of almost all her neighbours. In case of Pakistan, Balochistan and Karachi remain the main areas susceptible to Indian influence. The confessions of Kulbhushan Yadav (a serving R&AW agent, arrested by Pakistani forces in Balochistan on 24th March 2016) clearly demonstrate the Indian involvement in Pakistan. He confessed,

'I was picked up by R&AW in 2013. Ever since I have been directing various activities in Balochistan and Karachi at the behest of R&AW and deteriorating law and order situation in Karachi . . . My purpose was to hold meetings with Baloch insurgents and carry out activities with their collaboration These activities have been of criminal nature, leading to killing or maining of Pakistani citizens '266 .

The Indian polices in Balochistan are very much identical to her polices in Bangladesh. To illustrate, in Bangladesh, India exploited the ethnic gulf, which she is repeating in Balochistan. Similarly, India financed the separatist's movement in East Bengal and currently is doing the same in the case of Balochistan. Furthermore, India trained and organized Bengalis and Mukti Bahinis to launch guerrilla operations. She is following the same policy in Balochistan, by liaisoning with the Baloch militant organizations. As such the Indian polices remain the same. It's not only Pakistan where India is promoting insurgencies in fact, the India's similar involvement in the whole region of South Asia is an open secret.

<sup>266</sup> For detail see "Transcript of RAW agent Kulbhushan's confessional statement" Published in Dawn March 30, 2016.

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Expans New Service

NEW DELHI Oct. 20
THE Indian posts of Dhola and Khinzemane, along the Macklahon Line, in the NEFA sector and two posts in the Chip Chap river valley area of the Ladakh western sector fell to the Chinese on Friday when they simultaneously launched a big offensive against the Indian forces







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**THE 1971 INSURGENCY Introduction** 

# A

t the end of Ayub Khan's regime in early 1969, the assumption of authority by Yahya Khan only represented the replacement of one authoritarian rule by another. Yahya Khan's

role in politics was complicated. He maintained that he did not want to keep power, yet manipulated in a manner to sustain his power. He recognized the necessity of both politics and politicians, and decided to play the role of an arbitrator among the conflicting political groups.

Yahya Khan felt that none of the political parties would be able to win a clear-cut majority in the National Assembly, if elections were held. He felt his military regime could play the role of the power broker and stay in power. To his surprise and the surprise of major ruling elites, apart from the Punjab, the choice of the people of the provinces in the elections was based on their ethnic or regional interests. This was the first time that almost all mainstream parties were regionalized. Both East and West Pakistan had acquired leaders of their own, while their very different mandates had been apparently legitimized by the people through their votes.

The two main political players of 1971, Mujib and Bhutto, had two opposing viewpoints. Mujib wanted autonomy for East Pakistan, while Bhutto wanted the restoration of civilian rule and the restructuring of the economy on socialist lines. Both of them succeeded on the basis of negative appeals to the illiterate voters of Pakistan, one by whipping up negative feelings against the Punjabi domination, and the other by exploiting the demands brought to the

surface, during the mass movement of 1968-69 for social reforms. <sup>267</sup> Neither had a constructive or a positive approach, nor they wanted to share power, making their political collision inevitable. Adding the Indian ill-intentions in the mix, it became the perfect recipe for creating a chaos, incurring major losses. The predicted catastrophe occurred with the 1970 elections, bringing the leadership of East and West Pakistan in a head on collision, resulting in the ultimate culmination of the dismemberment of Pakistan.

<sup>267</sup> Jahan R, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration, 1972, p. 189-190

The Elections of 1970 and their Aftermath

Ayub's fall and the rise of Yahya

Earlier, when President Ayub Khan had begun to make preparations for the coming Presidential election in 1969, the majority of the opposition parties, including Mujib's Awami League in East Pakistan, decided to boycott it. Bhutto's Peoples Party, since late 1967, had been stirring anti-Ayub sentiments in West Pakistan turning the anti-Ayub climate into a mass movement.

In a last bid to save his rule, Ayub had convened a Round Table Conference in which all major political parties, except the PPP and the NAP (Bhashani Group), were represented under the forum of a grand alliance of the Democratic Action Committee (DAC) opposing the Ayub regime. Bhutto did not participate in the Conference as he did not see any benefit in compromising with Ayub, while Bhashani preferred going to the masses. <sup>268</sup>

Mujib proposed a formula for the resolution of the crisis, which included the proportional representation for East Pakistan, shifting of the capital to Dacca, the abolition of One Unit, direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage, and a parliamentary form of government. Ayub Khan showed his willingness to accept all other demands of DAC, except the alteration of the federal structure of the country. However, the DAC lost its legitimacy in the eyes of the masses in favour of the two non-participants, Bhutto and Bhashani, as well as Mujib, who soon pulled out of the DAC, and was thus saved from the mass accusation of being a sell-out. <sup>269</sup> Consequently, the political situation of the country took a more violent turn.

<sup>268</sup> Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, Religion and Politics in Pakistan, NIPS, 1972-1988, pp 73 <sup>269</sup> M. Waseem, Politics and the State in Pakistan, NIHCR, 1994, pp 222

The anti-Ayub mass movement continued vigorously for over four months, and violence erupted in East Pakistan. <sup>270</sup> The government machinery failed miserably to suppress the uprising in the province, and Ayub finally, realized the separatist dimensions of the movement. The final phase of the mass movement reached its climax with the arrest of many political leaders including Bhutto and NAP's Wali Khan. Ayub Khan had no alternative but to turn to the army to restore law and order, but the chiefs were unwilling to support an 'unpopular' president. Ultimately, on 25th March 1969, Ayub resigned as a president, but instead of transferring power under the Constitution to the speaker of the National Assembly, Ayub Khan handed over the power to General Yahya Khan, by appointing him as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA).

Elections for the People

On assuming power, General Yahya Khan set upon conducting elections as soon as possible. The elections were originally scheduled for October 1970, but the devastating cyclone in East Pakistan upset the plans. The natural calamity was one of the worst in the history of the world and killed, according to the official estimates, over 200,000 people. According to unofficial sources, about one million people died. It affected over three million people and destroyed 90 per cent of the crops and houses in a 3,000 square mile area. The Awami League fully exploited this calamity to prove that East Pakistan had been treated unjustly by the central administration. One grievance put forward was that no warning had been issued in these areas, although there was a storm warning system in East Pakistan. Further allegations of slow and inadequate response and relief operation were extended, emulsifying the smouldering Bengali anger to an outrage. The majority of the politicians from East Pakistan openly accused West Pakistanis of undisguised hostility. According to Mujib, 'A million people had died in the cyclone, and another million would lay down their lives willingly to thwart a conspiracy against Bengalis by bureaucrats, vested interests, the ruling clique and a coterie of old politicians.' 272

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270 Hasan Askari Rizvi, The Military and Politics in Pakistan, Macmillan, 1976, p. 209
271 271
1971, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 265.
272 The Guardian, November 27, 1970
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The deteriorating political situation forced the government of Pakistan to announce a new date for the elections. According to the new schedule, the elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies were to be held on 7th and 17th December 1970, respectively.273 As it was the main demand of most of the political parties, all of them decided to participate in the elections. However, when nominations for the elections to the National Assembly were received, it became obvious that there was no possibility of any party securing an overall majority in the Centre, based on the national territorial status.

For the 300 National Assembly seats, there were almost 1,957 candidates. However, after the rejection and withdrawal of the nomination papers, 1,579 candidates (including 319 independent candidates) were left in the field. For East Pakistan's Provincial Assembly, 1,850 candidates, and for West Pakistan, 1,385 candidates from different political parties and groups, with conflicting ideologies, were left to take part in the elections.

The following table shows how each party approached the elections based on the territories of East and West Pakistan: <sup>274</sup> Table 1 Candidates of Major Political Parties Sr. Name of Party

- 1. Awami League
- 2. Pakistan Peoples Party
- 3. Jamaat-i-Islami
- 4. Muslim League

Conventional

- 5. Muslim League Qayyum
- 6. Muslim League Council
- 7. Pakistan Democratic Party

# Candidates in East Pakistan 162

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## Candidates in West Pakistan 4

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79 31

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65 50

81

67 69 27

During the election campaign, it became obvious that 'national' parties had little grass-root support, while the regional parties enjoyed mass support. On one hand, there were 'rightists' like the Pakistan Muslim League and all of its three factions, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP) and Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP), who were gradually losing popular support, and on the other, there were 'leftists' including National Awami Party (NAP) of Wali Khan and Sindh United Front (SUF) of G. M. Syed.275

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    273 L. Ziring, Pakistan, The Enigma of Political Development, Kent Dawson Westview,
    1980, p. 101
    274 Herbert Feldman, The End and Beginning of Pakistan, 1969-1972, Oxford University Press, p. 72
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Before elections, Yahya Khan had issued MLR 60, which, 'prohibited anti-Pakistan ideological propaganda, violent attempts to mould public opinion, excursions of undue pressure on newspapers, interference with the activities of other parties, exhibition of weapons at public meetings'. 276 The election campaign which started in January 1970, went on for almost a full year and turned out to be the longest election campaign ever in the parliamentary history of Pakistan.

The main issue in the election campaign in East Pakistan was the question of provincial autonomy, and the political scene, from the beginning was dominated by Mujib of the Awami League. Awami League had organizations of student, labourers, and peasants to support its objectives. However, it was Mujib's growing stature as a leader that contributed to its emergence as the dominant party in East Pakistan. Upon H. S. Suhrawardy's death in 1963, Mujib had left the National Democratic Front and revived the Awami League in January 1964.277 Although, Mujib was an eloquent speaker with the ability to mesmerize the crowd, his success was owed greatly to his fanning of the anti-West Pakistan feelings. The poor and biased role and mishandling by West Pakistani establishment, as discussed in the previous chapter, also contributed to this. The people of East Pakistan were unhappy, when three prime ministers hailing from the Eastern wings, i.e. Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mohammad Ali Bogra, and H. S. Suhrawardy, were unceremoniously dismissed. Moreover, the failure of the central government to introduce Bengali as the national language and the economic disparity between the two wings, among other issues, were deeply resented in East Pakistan.

The Awami League had a fairly sound base in East Pakistan at the start of elections. However, the boycott of the elections by Maulana Bhashani and by the National Progressive League and Krishak Saramik Party in East Pakistan left the League virtually alone in the field. Traditional parties, like the Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islami or the Nizam-i-Islam Party, which put up candidates in both wings, mustered no support in East Pakistan.278 The Awami League's campaign soon turned itself into a movement of Bengali resurgence with Mujib, using his six-point program to further his cause. We will discuss these six points later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that the central government never prohibited their propagation.

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid, p. 73
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Awami League's leaders did visit West Pakistan on occasion, but these visits were aimed at formulating a front against Punjab. Mujib's collaborators in West Pakistan were G. M. Syed, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi and Abdus Samad Achakzai. He claimed that West Pakistan had been developed by East Pakistan's resources and the six-point formula, portrayed as the 'Magna Carta' for the Bengalis, would turn East Pakistan into *Sonar Bangla*. 280

Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party was the second largest party at the time. Bhutto's enigmatic personality, his socialist ideas and his slogan of *Roti, Kapra, aur Makan* (food, clothing, and shelter) were the factors that contributed to the popularity of the PPP. Bhutto introduced a new angle to politics, focusing on the local issues related to industrial labour and their conflicts with the industrialists, landlord-tenant conflicts and demand from the government for the provision of shelter for the working class. The PPP also developed new means to reach its voters who were looking for a major social and economic change, even though in a provincial context.

In Punjab, to the delight of the locals, Bhutto vented his venomous rage against India. In the province of Sindh, he relied on the local power of influential personalities like Mir Rasool Bakhsh Talpur of Hyderabad, Makhdoom Talib-ul-Maula of Hala, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi of Nawabshah, Pir of Ranipur and other *pirs* and *waderas* of Sindh. <sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, Religion and Politics in Pakistan, 1972-1980, NIPS, 1996, p.73
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However, his advocacy of socialism meant that he was supported largely by the working class. During the campaign, Bhutto was criticized by some religious parties for preaching 'socialism' which they claimed to be 'anti-Islamic'. Bhutto's own popularity as a native Sindhi from a powerful landed family greatly buttressed his success in the elections in Sindh.

Bhutto's type of populism was an *avant-garde* phenomenon for Pakistan. Before him, West Pakistani politicians had followed a lowkey approach towards politics, preferring to negotiate among themselves rather than use popular support to further their aims and ambitions. <sup>282</sup> Bhutto changed the rules of the political game completely, soaking in unprecedented public adulation in the process.

Bhutto had wanted a republican form of government based on adult franchise. He demanded civil liberties, fixed minimum wages and health facilities for the workers, elimination of illiteracy, equal rights for women, independence of judiciary and its separation from the executive, academic freedom, etc. Bhutto, who showed no interest in East Pakistan, concentrated on the economic exploitation of the capitalists and land owners in West Pakistan. Hence, he won the support of the western wing on the basis of his demand and support of individual and economic and social equality.283

The Pakistan Muslim League, and all its factions, stood for common ideals; a strong Centre with provincial autonomy consistent with national integrity, promotion of Muslim nationalism and economic justice in line with Islamic teachings. However, the PML had lost its appeal in East Pakistan after it was soundly defeated in 1954, when Bengali nationalism had pushed it into the background.

The religious parties including Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami denounced socialism and advocated an Islamic system for Pakistan. According to them, 'Socialism was an un-Islamic ideology and regional autonomy a threat to the basis of Pakistan'. <sup>284</sup> Some prominent ulema in their ranks even issued fatwas, declaring socialism as anti-Islamic. Yet, the religious parties as a whole failed to unite on one platform.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Hasan Askari Rizvi, The Military State and Soceity, Macmillan, 2000, p. 125

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Khawaja Algama, Bengali Elites Perceptions of Pakistan, Royal Book Company, 1997, p. 170

 $<sup>^{279}</sup>$  M. Ramzan, The Role of Religio Political Parties in Elections of 1970, p. 90

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> M. Rafique Afzal, Pakistan History and Politics, 1947-1971, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001,p. 392

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Sherbaz Khan Mazari, A Journey to Disillusionment, Oxford University Press, 1999,p.

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<sup>282</sup> Shahid Javed Burki, Pakistan: the Continuing Search for Nationhood, Boulder Westview Press, 1991, p. 59
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<sup>283</sup> S. Mahmood, Pakistan Divided, Ferozesons, 1984, p. 78

<sup>284</sup> Jang, 26 February, 1970

Election Results

The elections of 1970 resulted in an overwhelming victory for Sheikh Mujib's Awami League in East Pakistan. The Awami League won an absolute majority in the National Assembly by securing 160 out of 300 seats.

### Table 2 Election Results of 1970

Party Punjab Sindh NWFP Baluchistan East Pak. Total Awami League - - - - 160 160 Pakistan Peoples Party 62 18 1 - - 81 PML- Qayyum 1 1 7 - - 9

Conventional Muslim
League 7 - - - 7
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam - - 6 1 - 7
Markazi Jamiat-ul
Ulema 4 3 - - - 7
National Awami Party
Wali - - - 3 3 6
Jamaat Islami Pakistan 1 2 1 - - 4
Pakistan Muslim
League Council 2 - - - - 2
Pakistan Democratic
Party - - - - 1 1

Independents 5 3 7 - 1 16 Total 82 27 25 4 162 300 Source: Pakistan Observer, January 20, 1971

The Awami League also won all seven seats reserved for women from East Pakistan. The elections set the Bengalis on the route that was to take them toward complete independence a year later.285

The Peoples Party emerged as the second largest party in the National Assembly of Pakistan. It secured 81 out of 138 seats allocated for West Pakistan, although Bhutto never really expected the electoral landslide he eventually received in the western wing. The rightist / Islamic parties were badly routed as they could secure only 37 out of 300 seats of the National Assembly. The performance of the leftists/socialists was even worse. <sup>286</sup>

In the provincial assembly elections, the reflection of the National Assembly was almost repeated. Awami League's strength in the East Pakistan Assembly was 288 out of 300 seats but it had no representation in the Provincial Assemblies in West Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the Peoples Party won a majority in Punjab (113 out of 180 seats) and Sindh (28 out of 60 seats) assemblies. The election results showed that no East Pakistan -based party won a single seat in West Pakistan and similarly, no West Pakistan-based party in East Pakistan, the situation thus crystallized the polarization between East and West Pakistan.287

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<sup>285</sup> Shahid Javed Burki, Pakistan the Continuing Search for Nationhood, 1986, p. 59 <sup>286</sup> Pakistan Observer, January 20, 1971
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By any criteria, as majority believes, elections of 1970 were free and fair. The sweep of the Awami League in East Pakistan was about as complete as it could have been, whereas, the Peoples Party acquired a clear majority of seats of West Pakistani provinces in the National Assembly.

President Yahya Khan's decision to hold the first general elections in the political history of Pakistan is generally taken as the first step towards a democratically-elected civilian government. Yet, as noted above, it is still thought that the establishment believed that the elections would see the emergence of a large number of political parties in the Assembly. Thus, no party would have a commanding majority, leaving the initiative in the hands of the President and as a consequence, a coalition government.

The results of the elections clearly indicated a degree of political change in Pakistan. Old-school politics was badly routed. The founding party of Pakistan Muslim League, including its factions, had lost out completely. The Awami League, led by Mujib, emerged as the sole representative of East Pakistan, eliminating all religious and leftist parties from the constitutional struggle. Similarly, the PPP, led by Bhutto, won nearly by a two-third majority, establishing its claim on West Pakistan.

Aftermath of the Elections

The state of affairs that the elections of 1970 created required careful handling and it was a tragedy that the three major players in the drama did not feel the intensity of the situation. Mujib had not expected the massive mandate that he received. His bargaining position was now strong and it was foolish to ignore the realities of the situation. Mujib's total victory made him confident of assuming power. However, his position seemed to also seal the doors of compromise. Prudently, confronted with this situation, Yahya Khan and his fellow generals became closer to Bhutto.

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<sup>287</sup> Craig Baxter, Pakistan Votes, 1971, p. 211
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If the six-points, in their full rigor pointed towards the separation of East Pakistan, Bhutto's own attention seems to have been confined to West Pakistan alone. On the question of six-points, Bhutto had maintained silence, however, with the unexpected magnitude of Mujib's victory in the Eastern Wing, Bhutto tactfully projected the Awami League as the party of one wing only which was not to be allowed to rule on the basis of their landslide victory.

Taking this plea, Bhutto made it clear that the authority at the Centre would have to be shared between the Awami League and the PPP to enable the two to execute their respective mandates. <sup>289</sup> Admittedly, he had attained a large electoral victory within the bounds of West Pakistan; however, PPP's 81 seats

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> M. Asghar Khan, We've Learnt Nothing from History Pakistan: Politics and Military

were nowhere close to the Awami League's majority of 160 seats in the National Assembly. Yet, it seems that Bhutto did not wish to assume responsibility for forming provincial governments in the Punjab and Sindh without control of the Centre. <sup>290</sup> Under the Legal Framework Order (LFO) (Annexure-9), the new Constitution would require only a simple majority in the National Assembly.

The Awami League had a position to frame the Constitution single-handedly, leaving the PPP with no role to play in its framing. And more importantly, Bhutto could be restricted to playing a limited role as the leader of the opposition. Mujib declared that since the sixpoint program got approval of the people in the elections, it was compulsory that the constitution should be framed on the basis of the program.

### Sheikh Mujib's Six Points come to the Fore

Evaluation of the Six-Point program

The position of the Awami League on provincial autonomy and the constitutional structure was embodied in the now famous six points. In summary, the points were:

<sup>289</sup> Dawn, December 25, 1970

 $^{290}\,\mathrm{M}.$  Asghar Khan, We've Learnt Nothing from History Pakistan: Politics and Military

'The Government shall be parliamentary in form, at the centre and in the provinces, governed by a directly elected legislature chosen on the basis of population by universal adult franchise. The central government shall be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs and, under certain conditions, currency. There shall be separate but freely convertible currencies for each wing, or, a single currency be used there shall be means to prevent the transfer of resources from one wing to the other. Fiscal policy will be vested in the provinces which, in turn, will provide requisite resources to the central government, for it, to carry out its responsibilities in the defence and foreign affairs areas, separate accounts will be maintained for the foreign exchange earnings of each province and the provinces will provide foreign exchange, as necessary to the central government in a similar manner as internal revenues are to be provided under point, Each province shall be permitted to maintain a militia'.<sup>291</sup>

The third, fourth, and fifth point of the six-point Program purely dealt with the economic issues of East Pakistan. The third point demanded,

'Two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two wings may be introduced and furthermore one currency for the whole country may be maintained. In this case effective constitutional provisions are to be made to stop flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Separate Banking Reserve is to be made and separate fiscal and monetary policy to be adopted for East Pakistan'.292

Mujib had basically concluded that since Pakistan had two economic units, one in the East and the other in the West, and because of the distance between the two parts, there was no mobility of labour and capital between the two wings. He thought that the flight of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan could not be prevented because of having the same currency.

West Pakistan had along been the centre of all important government offices like the head office of the State Bank of Pakistan, which was responsible for issuing currency. Also, all the head offices of all public and private institutions and national and foreign industrial organizations were located in West Pakistan. Consequently, the transfer of money transactions from East to West wing was a natural occurrence. All deposits of banks, all government resources, all earnings, profits and savings of trade and industry, operating in East Pakistan, would move in a matter of minutes to West Pakistan.

<sup>291</sup> David Dunbar, Pakistan: The Failure of Political Negotiations, Asian Survey Vol 12, No. 5, 1972

<sup>292</sup> Safdar Mehmood, Pakistan Divided, p.237

90 per cent of the bank deposits or savings were generally invested, and this investment was also naturally done in West Pakistan. This was how the capital formation in West Pakistan was so rapid. The immediate benefit of investment, i.e. employment and industrialization were also, consequently, derived by West Pakistan.293

Mujib suggested that the only way to save East Pakistan from immense economic exploitation from West Pakistan was by creating a separate Reserve Bank for East Pakistan. This measure would ensure that capital investment stays there. This reform in the currency system, he maintained, would save East Pakistan from economic deprivation and at the same time, keep currency a central subject as a symbol of unity and oneness of the people of Pakistan.

### The fourth point stated,

'The power of taxation and revenue collection shall vest in the federating

units and that the federal centre will have no such power. The federation will have

a share in the state taxes for meeting their required expenditure. The consolidated

Federal Fund shall come out of a levy of certain percentage on all state taxes '.294 Mujib naively claimed that such an arrangement would make the federation stronger and that tax-collecting was a liability not a source

of power. Not surprisingly, this point attracted maximum criticism

from what Mujib called the 'unitariarists' and 'pseudo-federalists'.

Mujib was of the view that the central government would be

constitutionally guaranteed of the required amount they needed. The

right and power concerned did not rest in the act of tax collection

but in the distribution of money collected. The constitution would

provide that, 'a certain percentage of the revenue collection on all heads shall

automatically be credited to the Federal Fund by the reserve banks, on which

amount the unit/provincial governments shall have no control'. 295

Mujib was of the view that oft-quoted economic inequalities were

actually man-made inequities and remediable. He suggested some

remedies to that effect as well.<sup>296</sup>

The fifth point of the six-point program had sub-five points:

'There shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two

wings, earning of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan Government and that of West Pakistan under the control of West

Pakistan Government, foreign exchange requirement of the Federal Government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed, indigenous products shall move free of duty between two wings. The constitution shall empower the unit Governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade

missions in and enter into agreements with, foreign countries'. 297 Mujib's proposals regarding the fifth point were to draw attention to the fact that East Pakistan had earned a lot of the annual foreign exchange for Pakistan which was unfairly utilized for the industrialization of West Pakistan. And to compound the unfairness, the earnings from those industries were reinvested in West Pakistan again only. Another grievance was the tipping of imports in West Pakistan's favour, with the assertion that West Pakistan lacked capital formation to justify imports. And, imports to East Pakistan were less compared to exports, whereas, imports to West Pakistan were more than exports. Two-thirds of Pakistan's foreign exchange were generated through the export of jute, which was the main cash crop of the eastern wing, but those foreign earnings were used neither for the development of the jute growers or planters nor for the common people of East Pakistan. The unfairness didn't cease here as almost all the foreign aid and loans were taken against the foreign exchange earned by the eastern wing but were used in the western wing. Moreover, the irony was that instalments and interest in foreign currency on these loans were being paid by East Pakistan.298 Mujib had put the six-point program before the West Pakistanis

in a simpler and appealing form. He addressed the people of West Pakistan precisely using the lines that the six points were not formulated in the interest of East Pakistan only. Secondly, he claimed that the practice that the eastern wing's wealth was being transferred to and concentrated in the western wing has led to regional includes the statement of the second to the secon

imbalance. It did not only mean that the common masses of West Pakistan were receiving this wealth, as opposed to the people of East Pakistan, but the entire wealth of the country was controlled by just a few families. He further added that the 62 per cent of the revenue of East Pakistan that was being spent on defence and the 32 per cent of the revenue that was being spent on central administration should be

spent in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan.

Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders believed that Mujib's six-point program was actually an agenda of secession, which might well be true. This argument is a perfect example of scapegoating others to deflect blame. Even the media and academic circles in the West Pakistan regarded the six-point program as nothing more than just a dangerous slogan. There appeared to be little understanding of the emergence of new dynamics in the politics of Pakistan, which required a reordering of erstwhile established systems.299

<sup>293</sup> Moudud Ahmed, Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest for Autonomy 1950-1971, p. 81

<sup>294</sup> Safdar Mehmood, Pakistan Divided, p.238

<sup>295</sup> Moudud Ahmed, Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest for Autonomy 1950-1971, p.82

<sup>297</sup> Safdar Mehmood, Pakistan Divided, p.239

<sup>298</sup> Moudud Ahmed, Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest for Autonomy 1950-1971, p.83

Yahya's View of the Six Points

President Yahya followed the policy of his predecessor, regarding the six-point program, and did not give any importance to this burning issue. In a very desperate bid to retain power and to validate his military operation in East Pakistan, he made a speech on 26<sup>th</sup> March 1971, but all he could blame Mujib was for 'obstinacy, obduracy and refusal to talk sense'. 300

Here are some insights from Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report about Yahya's casual attitude towards the six-point program Justice A. R. Cornelius, a retired chief justice of Pakistan who also served as a constitutional expert in Yahya's military regime, told the Hamoodur Rahman Commission, 'that he (Yahya) was familiar with them (Six Points) and he used to talk about them from time to time but he never asked for an analysis of these, but according to my mind, I think that about four of them were quite easily acceptable and I said in a meeting of the cabinet that it would be easily possible to amend the Constitution so as to give effect to most of the Six Points and that would perhaps ease the political situation'. <sup>301</sup>

In the same report, it is stated that on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1971, Lieutenant General Peerzada, the Principal Staff Officer to President General Yahya, called on the Governor of East Pakistan, Admiral Ahsan, and asked him to obtain a copy of the six-point program because he and the President would be discussing it with Mujib and his colleagues the next day. It is quite shocking that even at this stage the presidential team did not have so much as a copy of the six-point program.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Hasan Zaheer, The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism, Oxford University Press, 1994, p.146.

<sup>300</sup> Syed Shahid Husain, What Was Once East Pakistan, p.21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> The Report of the Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 War, p.72

The failure on the part of President Yahya and his advisers to critically examine the Six Points of Mujib and to permit the latter to campaign on their basis, and declaring that the elections were actually a referendum on the Six Points, seems to suggest that neither the President nor any one of his advisers were ever bothered about what the result of the election would be.303

The Hamoodur Rehman Commission concluded that the government's approach to Mujib's Six Points was 'off-hands'. It is also stated that Yahya was totally unprepared for talks with Mujib, while Mujib was ready to negotiate. He once even said that 'Six Points are not the words of God'. <sup>304</sup> Privately, before elections, Mujib had reassured Yahya that the Six Points were his bargaining position. However, the Yahya regime tried its level best to fan propaganda and create an impression that it was a plan to divide the country.

The fact of the matter is that the Six Points were never properly studied for understanding or development of alternate proposals by the Federal and Provincial Governments or even the politicians. This had become a necessity after the election, when it became the official policy of the majority party. Yahya simply did not understand the issue. Although on closer examination, the Six Points, as they stand may have been damaging for national integration, but it was never brought up for discussion or consideration in the cabinet or before the President. 305

Bhutto and the Six Points

Throughout the election campaign of 1970, Bhutto did not accept the six-point program. He neither negotiated with Mujib, nor developed a critique of the same. He also did not develop any alternative to it. On the other hand, the East Pakistanis had used, first the rebellion of 1969 and then the elections of 1970 to popularize the six-point program as something heretic and against the dignity of Pakistan. So, when both sides later came together on the negotiating table after the elections, they had vastly different attitudes which were less congenial. 306

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303 Ibid, p. 343
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The negotiations occurred in a vacuum By 1971, the pulse in East Pakistan was not to consider the preservation of Pakistan's unity as a priority, the highest priority for the East Pakistani leadership was to safeguard the distinct interests of only their own region. On the surface, they did not wish to break up Pakistan. A majority party had no reasons to do that. Nonetheless, the continued existence of a unified Pakistan was subject, in the Bengali view, to the successful realization of the Bengali agendas. Their interests had been betrayed in the past. The ones who had betrayed them were still in power, thus if trust was not being an option anymore, future arrangements had to be guaranteed structurally to them.

Bhutto was of the view that Mujib's intentions were for separation. In the Six Points, he saw India's conspiratorial hand. Throughout the negotiations, Bhutto believed that the Awami League was moving, in fact, toward independence. 307

Bhutto criticized the six-points program on grounds that, firstly, the provincial control of aid and trade, in addition to the Awami League's idea of separate currencies for the two provinces, would have meant separate and exclusive economies for the two wings that would have turned Pakistan into a hotbed of 'imperialist intrigues'. Secondly, aid and trade are so bound up with 'Foreign Policy and Defense' that the central government's control over these areas would have been undoubtedly impaired. Thirdly, new constitution cannot be unilaterally imposed by any one of the federating units, as Mujib wished to do with his draft based on the Six-points, rather it has to be acceptable to all the units in the federation, irrespective of their relative size.308

Politics of the Six Points

Although Mujib's Six Points, by any stretch of imagination, could not be termed as an act of secession, yet, Awami League's policy pronouncement after the elections caused great anguish among the military elite. Caught in the middle, Yahya Khan visited Dacca in mid-January 1971, in order to start dialogue with Mujib. While considering the right and the technical ability of the Awami League to form a central government by its own party strength, Yahya Khan advised Mujib to include some persons from West Pakistan also in his cabinet for a smoother conduct of the state affairs.

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307 Ibid, p. 14.
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Mujib agreed to meet the West Pakistani politicians, including Bhutto, but maintained that his personal status vastly differed from that of the PPP leader. He made it clear, 'While I am the sole elected representative of East Pakistan and enjoying total support and Mr Bhutto's position is different in West Pakistan. Other parties have won a considerable number of seats in the Western Wing and we can associate them with us'.309

Yahya Khan wished to insert a clause which permitted independent foreign trade and aid dealings provided such dealings were 'not against the fundamentals of the country's foreign policy'. Although, Mujib did not show flexibility on the Six Points, nor did he compromise on the constitution-making process, however, he agreed to let Yahya Khan stay on as President after the national government was formed under the new constitution. In the meantime, Bhutto, on Yahya's suggestion, flew to Dacca on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1971 for negotiations with Mujib to work out a solution of the constitutional dilemma which would be acceptable to both the political parties. He had several days of discussions with Mujib on the Six Points, however, the Awami League leadership was not prepared to accept any amendment in the six-point formula and the PPP was not ready to concede all the Six Points. It is believed that instead of making attempts to solve the impasse, Bhutto offered his personal services. He mentioned that he would be content with the portfolios of *deputy prime minister*. 311 Consequently, Bhutto returned empty-handed to West Pakistan.

General Rao Farman Ali, the Principal Staff Officer Civil Affairs, in the government of East Pakistan, met Mujib shortly affer Bhutto's departure and stated, 'Mujib told me there was no disagreement about the Six Points between them. The dispute that arose was about power-sharing in the new government'. 312

Soon after his return from Dacca, Bhutto engaged himself in solidifying his personal position within West Pakistan. During the first two weeks, he conferred with his party notables and took an 'official' mandate from them to seek amendments to the Six Points from the Awami League. Bhutto also met Yahya Khan and explained his position on the Awami League's program. During his meeting with the President, he reiterated that his party would not go to the Assembly merely to 'rubber stamp' a constitution that Mujib had prepared.313

<sup>304</sup> Syed Shahid Husain, What Was Once East Pakistan, p.20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> Hasan Zaheer, The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism, p.147

<sup>306</sup> Aijaz Ahmad, The Great Farce, 1972, p. 14

<sup>308</sup> Safdar Mehmood, Pakistan Divided, p.101

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309 K.M. Arif, Khaki Shadows: Pakistan 1947-1997, Oxford University Press, p. 110, 2001
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However, Bhutto hoped that by mobilizing the anti-Six Points sentiments in West Pakistan; he could put pressure on Mujib to share power with his party. He held talks with Qayyum Khan, Muffi Mahmud, Wali Khan and others to persuade them to develop a consensus on the constitutional issue. This consensus meant unanimity on amendments to the Six Points, and unity in opposing the transfer of power until the Awami League agreed to modify the Six Points according to their demands.<sup>314</sup>

Yahya Khan, in order to break the deadlock, intervened on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1971, by inviting Mujib for a meeting in Islamabad. However, Mujib refused to obey as he wanted the inaugural session to be held at Dacca on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1971.

### Yahya and the Military Action

Yahya Khan's Efforts to Escalate the Tension

Yahya Khan met with Bhutto on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1971, and announced that the National Assembly would meet at Dacca for its inaugural session on 3 March 1971. However, Bhutto, while addressing a press conference in Peshawar, expressed his inability to join the National Assembly session in the absence of an understanding, compromise or adjustment of the six-point formula. He said, 'I cannot put my party men in a position of double jeopardy (by sending them to Dacca)", he said and threatened 'a revolution from Khyber to Karachi, 'if the Peoples Party was left out."<sup>315</sup>

Yahya Khan made an attempt to break the deadlock by inviting Mujib again to meet him in Islamabad on 17th February 1971. However, Mujib expressed his inability to travel to the capital to meet the President. His insistent refusal for a dialogue made his intentions doubtful. In the meantime, Bhutto met the President on 19 February, and showed his reservations about East Pakistan's Governor Admiral Ahsan, being a 'pliable tool in the hands of Awami League'. 316 Two days after Bhutto's press conference in Peshawar, Yahya took the easier route, dismissing his civilian cabinet and reverted to Martial Law.

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313 Ibid, p. 100
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General Yaqub and Admiral Ahsan were summoned from East Pakistan to Rawalpindi to meet on 22 February. Before their departure, General Yaqub and Admiral Ahsan met Mujib who assured them that the Six Points were negotiable.317 Yahya, who took exception to Mujib's refusal to visit the capital, wanted firm action against him. However, both General Yaqub and Admiral Ahsan explained that this would be unwise. They explained that the people of East Pakistan felt betrayed and had risen in revolt to protect their rights.

By realizing the bitter realities, both opposed the use of force against the Awami Leaguers because, in their assessment, the use of force would bring the situation to an undesired climax and might head to the disintegration of the country. In light of Bhutto's demand that the limit of 120-day for National Assembly should be removed, Yahya Khan stated that the polarized political climate was inappropriate to hold the National Assembly session on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1971, and the postponement would enable the political leaders to arrive at some settlement. Mujib was shocked when he came to know that the National Assembly session, which was due two days later, had been postponed. Many political leaders from West Pakistan, including Asghar Khan, Akbar Bugti, Maulana Hazarvi, Malik Ghulam Jilani and Muntaz Daultana also supported Mujib's stance and condemned Bhutto for his role in the postponement of the Assembly session. However, public reaction in East Pakistan was spontaneous and hostile. An instant wave of public anger swept the whole of East Pakistan which provoked a serious political storm as discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In an attempt to conciliate Bengali sentiment, Yahya Khan declared that the postponed secession of the Assembly would meet on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1971, but the announcement did not have any effect. By realizing the intensity of the situation, at last, he belatedly arrived in Dacca on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1971. However, his reception line at the Tejgaon airport did not include any Bengali politician or bureaucrats. <sup>320</sup> The government and Awami League negotiations were held between 16th and 24th of March 1971. On the invitation of President Yahya, some elected members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan, had already assembled there, notably Mufti Mahmud, Abdul Wali Khan, Abdul Qayyum Khan, Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo and Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani. Yet, they did not have any role in the talks because Yahya Khan gave them a general idea about the negotiations but did not keep them in the loop.

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    316 Pakistan Observer, 1971, March 16
    317 Ibid.
    318 The Dawn, 1971, April 1
    319 The Dawn, 1971, April 9
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Mr Bhutto joined the negotiations at Dacca on  $22^{nd}$  March 1971, after Mujib agreed to meet him. The meeting, however, made no progress and all common grounds between Yahya's military regime and Mujib's Awami League disappeared. In the middle of the negotiations, the Awami League celebrated  $23^{rd}$  March, the Pakistan Resolution Day, as the 'Resistance Day'.

Declaration of Independence

Meanwhile, the general strike in East Pakistan became a noncooperation movement. The Awami League was in full control of East Pakistan's economic and political life. Mujib had started issuing orders like a de facto ruler; a parallel government of the Awami League was practically operating. The East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles had switched over their loyalties to the Awami League.321

After loot, plunder, and massacre of the people loyal to Pakistan, the military crackdown finally began on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1971. The Bengali officers at Jessore and Chittagong massacred their own former colleagues and their families. The Awami League attacked wherever the Pakistani Army was weak. It was designed to provoke the Army, enabling Mujib to drive a wedge between the Bengali and the nonBengali population.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> A.R. Siddique, East Pakistan: The Endgame: An Onlooker's Journal 69-71,Oxford University Press, p.54, 2005

<sup>311</sup> Takbeer, January 11, 1996, p 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> H.S. Anwar, The Discourse and Politics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Macmillan, p. 100

<sup>314</sup> Z.A. Bhutto, The Myth of Independence, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 30

<sup>315</sup> M. Waseem, Politics and the State in Pakistan, Progressive Publishers, 1989, p. 276,

Mujib formally declared the independence of Bangladesh at midnight on 25 March and on 27<sup>th</sup> March, Major General Ziaur Rehman, second in command of the East Bengal Regiment, announced the formation of the provisional government of Bangladesh from Chittagong Radio Station. <sup>323</sup> Yet another declaration of independence was issued by Tajuddin Ahmad, prime minister of the exiled government at Mujib Nagar, Calcutta, India on 17 April 1971 saying, '*Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses*'.

320 R. Jackson, South Asian Crises, Chatto and Windus, 1975, p. 171

<sup>321</sup> Hafiz Malik, The Problem of Regionalism in Pakistan, 1975, p. 112-113

322 Matiur Rehman, Bangladesh Today, An Indictment or a Lament, University of Islamabad Press, 1981, p. 95-96

Operation Searchlight

On the afternoon of 24<sup>th</sup> March, General Yahya Khan ordered General Tikka Khan to launch the already planned 'Operation Searchlight', a military contingency plan, for restoring normalcy. <sup>324</sup> However, with the military intervention, the whole complexion of the problem in East Pakistan changed, as it shattered the last hope of saving the united Pakistan.

Military action in East Pakistan started in the early hours of  $26^{th}$  March, with clear objectives. The long-term and short-term aims of the 'Operation Searchlight' were:

### The long-term goals were:

To seal-off the borders

To create conditions for creating a civilian set-up To regain the administration of the province To accommodate the non-radical elements of the elected representatives into a new political arrangement

### The Immediate goals were:

Disarming all Bengali troops—six East Bengal Regiments, 30,000 personnel of East Pakistan Rifles and the Police. Arrest the Awami League Leadership. Imposition of the Martial Law

Taking over airfields

Taking over Chittagong Naval Base

Ensure security of all towns

Cut off communication links of East Pakistan with other parts of the world.

Take over Radio and TV stations

323 General J.F.R. Jacob, Surrender of Decca, Birth of a Nation, 1997, p. 34 324 Pakistan Observer, 29 June, 1971

When military operation was due it was just in time to tackle the pre-planned takeover by Colonel Osmani of important strategic locations like the Dacca airfield, the Chittagong seaport, the Dacca cantonment and border outposts. Colonel Osmani's plans to take over strategic locations within East Pakistan, especially near Dacca, had its complete reliance on the defected EBR and EPR personnel. The mutiny was planned for the early morning of 26th March 1971.

The Dacca University had been the centre stone of anti-state activities for the past many days. The 18 Punjab Regiment, part of 57 Infantry Brigade was sent there. When the army reached the University, it had to clear blockades before reaching and entering the university premises. The army entered the campus with Tanks and Artillery, ready for a fight. The fighting came to a halt at 4.00 a.m. The army had lost four (4) personnel, sixty-six (66) attackers were killed and thirty-one (31) were injured.

In the course of Operation Searchlight, simultaneous actions also took place to capture the leadership of the Awami League. Within the first ten days, the army successfully achieved its objective in the main urban centres. The whole province took six weeks to come under government control. The 25/26 March action by the Army is also known as Dacca Crackdown. Dacca, Comilla Cantonment, the Sylhet airport, Rangpur, the Saidpur cantonment, Khulna and Rajshahi came under the martial law authorities, with two days of fighting with the terrorist elements; defectors, university residents, and the Awami Leaguers. The control over these strategic locations was not enough; communication links also had to be restored within the province through rail, road, and river transport. The provincial capital Dacca and Chittagong, Comilla, Sylhet, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Jessore and Khulna cantonments had air links only and no road communication.

Overall, the military action was successful in establishing the Martial Law authority. The other objectives of the action remained partially accomplished. The arrest of the Awami League leadership was almost a complete failure, only Mujib and Kamal Hussain, who had not tried to escape, were arrested while all of the other prominent leaders escaped to India. According to accounts, the Awami League leadership had been alerted when Wing Commander Khondkar had seen President Yahya leaving Dacca. The leadership disguised as peasants, left Dacca for India where they were received with open arms. However, it is worth noting that the houses of the Awami League leadership were marked by government agents prior to the crackdown. Such an escape of important political targets must be attributed to the Army's limitations. There was no one within the officer ranks who could recognize the Awami League leaders. The Police, on the other hand, could not be trusted with the operation as they were to be disarmed themselves.

The nature of the operation which had to be surgical became aggressive as difficulties started. The Bengali troops, under the political spell of Mujib and the Awami League workers, were actively interacting with the Bengali units. Military action started not only throughout the province but also within the cantonments, because six East Bengal regiments out of the ten stationed in East Pakistan had to be disarmed.

In Jessore, the First East Bengal Regiment was attacked by the  $22^{nd}$  and  $25^{th}$  Baloch, accompanying the Brigade Commander to overpower the defectors. Two infantry battalions along with the 55 Field Regiment overcame the  $1^{st}$  East Bengal Regiment, after hours of fighting, in which one hundred and thirty (130) Bengali defectors were killed.

In Joydebpur, the Second East Pakistan Regiment was led by Major K. M. Safiullah, who had political affiliations with the Awami League. The Regiment had blown up bridges, attacked the army and remained in the forests of Mymensingh for days, before leaving for India through Rajshahi. The unit incurred no damage while all of the West Pakistani soldiers and officers of the Regiment were killed.

The Third East Bengal Regiment was stationed at Saidpur. Almost 30-40 personnel of the Regiment were arrested, while 69 defectors died at Parbatipur Railway station. By that time, Third East Bengal Regiment had started to join the other defectors of East Pakistan Rifles and overtook Dinajpur. They killed all West Pakistani soldiers and officers in their ranks. By the time Pakistani forces reached Dinjapur, it had become a slaughter house.

Lt Colonel Khizar Hayat, a West Pakistani officer, commanding the Fourth East Bengal Regiment, had not been successful in disarming his regiment. His second-in-command, Khalid Musharraf, took his commanding officer under arrest and along with his fully equipped and intact battalion entered into Agartala, India.

The Commanding Officer Lt Colonel Abdur Rasheed Janjua, a West Pakistani officer, headed the Eighth East Bengal Regiment. His second in command, Zia-ur-Rehman, took his commanding officer under arrest. Zia-ur-Rehman, along with his own regiment and rebels from East Pakistan Rifles, put up resistance against 20<sup>th</sup> Baloch stationed at Chittagong. Chittagong was in chaos until reinforcements came to the fore.

Commanding officer Brigadier Mazumdar, a Bengali officer, supporter of Mujib had to be replaced from the command of 2,500 Bengali personnel. The task was done before the start of the operation when General Khadim Hussain Raja came to Chittagong and skilfully convinced the Brigadier to join his new duty at Dacca.

The Army disarmed Tenth East Bengal Regiment stationed at Dacca but the clash cost ten lives.

The Army successfully disarmed 10,000 personnel of East Pakistan Rifles at Peelkhana Dacca without any casualties. However, the other parts of the province were not peaceful in this regard. At Rajshahi, East Pakistan Rifles had attacked two companies of the 25<sup>th</sup> Punjab and killed everyone. Three columns were moved to Rajshahi, which was under the rebels' control, separated from Dacca by Ganges and Yamuna and a border area. Brigade headquarters, a battalion and two companies moved en route from Rajshahi, another Battalion moved through the water channel and the last column was moved to Rajshahi through helicopters. At Thakurgaon, the rebels of the East Pakistan Rifles killed their West Pakistani Commanding officer. While in Rangpur, the 29th Cavalry was disarmed without any resistance.

Success and failures of the Operation Searchlight

Almost all of the East Bengal Regiments were about to defect when the military action took place. But still the situation got out of hand. The defectors escaped with their weapons, commanding officers were killed and arrested, etc. These trained soldiers of Pakistan were going to cross the border into India and return as the Mukti Bahini, after a season of training. The eleven sectors of the Mukti Bahini were mostly under the command of these defected soldiers of East Pakistan. Along with the Mukti Bahinis, the government officials also defected.

The military action came as a shock to the Bengali personnel stationed at West Pakistan. The first news they got about the military action against Awami League was its ban and a stricter Martial Law for East Pakistan. Consequently, they started making plans for defection. There was a plan to move the Third East Bengal Regiment stationed at Sialkot, into India. Before they could defect along with the stationed Regiment, it was moved to Kharian. There were officers who were propagating among their Bengali officers to defect and escape from West Pakistan. The masterminds of Mujib's murder plot were two of these defectors. One of them deserted his gulf stationed unit while the other crossed the border into India.

Army and Air Force defected and escaped to India, some taking with them military secrets like strategic maps, etc. Many officers of the East Pakistani descent faced difficulties due to the mistrusting attitude towards East Pakistanis. In one such instance, Lt General Wasi-uddin, an East Pakistani officer was a corps commander and was removed from an important task. In protest, he resigned from the army and preferred to remain in internment given to the East Pakistan officers/soldiers. However, there were also people who were pro-Pakistan before the military action but later defected.

The military action had not started when foreign journalists were asked to leave East Pakistan. Thirty-five of these journalists left East Pakistan and started reporting the news about East Pakistan from the hostile soil of India. The advice to deport the Foreign Press was given by Brigadier A. R. Siddiqui, editor of the Defence Journal. General Tikka Khan later accepted this move as a mistake. For the foreign journalists, their expulsion raised doubts and they gathered reports from clandestine radio stations and other pro-Indian news agencies. Those reporters could not have reported the exaggerated casualties, if they had been allowed to stay in East Pakistan. The reporters were not willing to believe the casualties reports provided by the government. All the 'White Papers' were published in the month of August, by then the dominant perception had become antiPakistan.

Little had been done to know about the general mood after the military action, which somehow had targeted an ethnic majority of the province. The sentiments were strong for the Awami League leadership and those who revolted, mostly supporters of Awami League were in the police or the army. In short, the military action had achieved its objectives for the imposition of Martial Law by securing the airfields, the naval bases, restoring law and order, the expulsion of the press and the takeover of radio and television stations.

But the two other important objectives were not achieved, one the Awami League leadership, other than two leaders, who had escaped to India and second, many of the Bengali troops were not disarmed. These were the immediate goals, however, out of the longterm goals, which officially perished with surrender, all the army successfully achieved was regaining the partial administrative control of the province.

As Lt General (Retd) Kamal Matiuddin says in his book,

'before taking such a drastic step which would certainly have had far reaching repercussions, both within the country and without, a careful assessment and appreciation of the situation was necessary. The pros and cons of using force should have been thoroughly discussed and clear cut instructions about the quantum of force to be used should have been spelt out. No evaluation was carried out the consequences of the military action on the reaction of all Bengalis elements in the armed forces and in the civil departments. Neither was any thought given to the attitude of those sitting on the fence who were most likely to turn against the armed forces and the central government in Islamabad. The desertion of the Bengalis lock, stock and barrel and their going across to India was, incorrectly, not visualized or not considered as a major drawback. The response by friendly countries was also not properly analysed. The advantage accruing to India and how easily they would capitalize on the resentment of the [common] Bengalis was not taken into account'.325

Recovering after the Operation

During the military operation, the loss of life, property, and infrastructure was immense but the real loss was the widespread feelings of alienation among the Bengalis. To counter the publicity of the Bangladesh movement, the Martial Law regime started external publicity. Foreign journalists, who were thrown out of

Dacca on 25 March 1971, were invited to return. 326 Similarly, amnesty was granted to returning refugees from India and much-publicized (but not effective) reception centres were opened to welcome them back. On 28 June 1971, Yahya Khan announced his long-awaited plan for political settlement. Although he promised a constitutional government and the restoration of civilian rule in the next three or four months, the Awami League was yet to be banned as a political organization. 327 Such a settlement was obviously not acceptable to the leadership of the Awami League. Politically, in West Pakistan, it appeared that a measure of opposition, publicly and privately, gradually developed against the Martial Law regime.

325 K. Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors: East Pakistan Crises 1968-71, 1994, 326 New York Time, 1971, December 15

In the next three months, the regime continued its plan of 'civilianization' of its administration. A long list of names of the Awami League members of the National Assembly was published against whom the regime brought specific 'criminal' charges similarly, the by-election dates for the vacant seats were announced.328 In early September, Yahya Khan replaced the military governor in East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan with a civilian governor, Abdul Motaleb Malik and a civilian cabinet was installed as an interim arrangement to facilitate the by-elections but the situation in East Pakistan continued to deteriorate.

### **Insurgency and Dismemberment**

Insurgency starts

The people of East Pakistan felt that they were getting a carrotand-stick treatment after the military action. Their hostility increased along with the threat of defectors joining the Mukti Bahini. On General Tikka Khan's request, fresh reinforcements were sent from West Pakistan.

Lt General A. A. K. Niazi was handed over the Eastern Command on 7<sup>th</sup> April, while General Tikka Khan remained the Martial Law Administrator and Governor of East Pakistan. When Lt General Niazi came to East Pakistan, the situation was under control and the government's authority had been established to a large extent. Armed forces comprising of the West Pakistani personnel were lacking heavy weaponry and engineering equipment. In these times, operational plans were made for handling an internal insurgency, but the Indian threat had not been considered in their plans.

By September 1971, military strategists felt that the increasing number of Indian forces around the borders was alarming. The Eastern Command of East Pakistan analysed the Indian threat but it was thought that if the Pakistani troops could concentrate on the Mukti Bahini, retaining the operations within the borders, then it would be unlikely that India could justify aggression on Pakistan. Under these considerations, light forces were left to guard the borders, while stronger forces were used to build fortresses in strategically important points within East Pakistan against Mukti Bahini.

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327 New York Time, 1971, 16 December
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328 Salik, Witness to Surrender, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 207

Niazi concentrated his efforts on pushing the terrorist Mukti Bahinis across the Indian borders.329 In October 1971, India had again successfully increased the number of Mukti Bahinis in terms of fighters and equipment. The Mukti Bahini started new attempts to infiltrate the porous borders and their aim was to engage the Pakistani troops in fighting long enough to lose morale.

In early October 1971, Mukti Bahinis along with the disguised Indian forces as Mukti Bahinis started their attacks on the Ninth Division stationed in the Jessore-Jhendia sector. The Fourteenth Division stationed in the Sylhet-Bhramanbaria sector and the Thirtysixth Division in the Comilla sector also came under attacks. <sup>330</sup> These formations lacked artillery, engineering support, and armour. The attacks on the Pakistani forces caused their dispersion on the vastly spread border.

On 15 th November, the General Headquarters (GHQ) asked the Eastern Command to present operational plans. Major General Jamshed and the Chief of Staff, Brigadier Baqir Siddiqui, presented the new operational plan at GHQ, Rawalpindi. Lt General Niazi had a delaying action strategy in which troops would acquire time to secure their defensive positions. For this, he asked GHQ for an additional eight battalions, to which the GHQ also promised the reinforcements for the Eastern Command. Lt General Niazi working on his previous operational plan of driving out the Mukti Bahinis had already incurred a loss of 7,700 square kilometres since 12<sup>th</sup> October. <sup>331</sup> Furthermore, he left Dacca almost undefended under the impression that reinforcements were expected to arrive and if they did not, he would send a few of the formations to guard Dacca. The GHQ did not send the number of troops as promised; rather it sent only two against the demand for eight battalions. Until 19<sup>th</sup> November, Lt General Niazi had been posturing and directing his troops that there would be no withdrawal till 75 per cent causalities were suffered. <sup>332</sup> Unfortunately, this posturing was not realistic bearing in mind the unprotected capital, the vast border, and the small number of troops he had to fight with.

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    329 Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors, p. 345
    330 Ibid, p. 347
    331 Ibid p. 347
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This excerpt from his book *The Betrayal of East Pakistan* gives you a sneak peek into his boastful personality. Ironically, he was the one who threw down his weapons.

' From Commander Eastern Command to C-in-C. Pakistan Army: Reassuring you and pledging afresh at the critical juncture of our history, we will Insha Allah fully honour the great confidence that has been reposed in us and no sacrifice will be considered too great in defending our scared fatherland. By the grace of Almighty Allah, the initial Bharti onslaught has been blunted. God willing, we will take the war on to Indian Soil to finally crush the very spirit of the non-believers through the supreme force of Islam. Pray and believe that ultimate victory will be ours. Insha Allah'.<sup>333</sup>

In East Pakistan, the Eastern Command would indulge in breaking and making formations, unable to comprehend the fighting conditions it was facing. In some cases where a battalion should have been covering one mile of the border line, it had been covering thirty miles. The Pakistan Air force in East Pakistan had twelve F-86 fighters with only two functional airfields in Dacca, Tejgaon and Kurmitola.334 The worst situation was for the Navy, which had no warships to guard the Chittagong port. A few gunboats were all that the naval forces deployed.

The situation on the other side of border was quite different. India was well prepared for a full-scale war. In April 1971, Indira Gandhi informed the Indian forces to prepare for war on Pakistan upon which, Manekshaw asked for funds to buy tanks and aircrafts. Manekshaw was quoted as: 'if you want me to

go in now, I can guarantee you 100 percent defeat, but if you give me some time, I can guarantee you 100 percent success'. He said later, 'I got everything I wanted. I got money and I went to the Soviet Union and got the tanks and aircrafts'.

In peace time, Indian forces on Eastern Command were one Corps consisting of three infantry divisions at Calcutta. With Indira Gandhi's decision to go to war, the Indian Eastern Command started concentrating its forces in West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam and Tripura. Whereas, on the northern border, covered in snow, spare mountain divisions were re-equipped and a new Corps headquarters was raised. Lt General Jagjit Singh Aurora, Commander Eastern Command, engaged against an insurgency within north-east India, had withdrawn his troops towards East Pakistan as well.335 All these military activities could be detected. To avoid suspicion, it was said that the military was requested in the Indian Eastern Command due to the prevailing internal unrest.

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332 Ibid p. 348
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By September 1971, there were seven divisions and a communication zone, fully equipped and holding strategic locations with sorted strategies on the East Pakistani border. By November 1971, the Indian Eastern Command had raised three Corps. The Indian capabilities were enhanced, two companies could be airlifted instantly and another regiment of the Hovercraft capable to move battalions across the rivers was also employed.<sup>336</sup> The total strength of the Indian army surrounding East Pakistan became 400,000 while five airfields were operational for the Indian Air Force. The Indian Navy was also far stronger compared to the East Pakistan' naval forces. The entire fire power available, in all of East Pakistan with Pakistan forces was less than one division of the Indian force.<sup>337</sup>

The relative strength of the forces in the two Eastern Commands may be seen from the table below:

Table 3

**Strength of Forces on Eastern Command** 

**Indian Forces Pakistani Forces Ratio** Corps Headquarters 3 1 3 : 1 Infantry Divisions 8 3 2.5 : 1 Infantry Brigades 28 9 3 : 1 Para-Brigade 1 - 1 : 0 Infantry Battalions 72 34 2.5 : 1 Armour Regiments 6 1 6 : 1 Independent Armed Squadrons 3 1 3 : 1 Artillery Regiments 46 6 8 : 1

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335 Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors, p.341-342
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Indian Forces Pakistani Forces Ratio Anti-Aircraft Regiments 414:1

Para-Military Forces 32 13 3:1

Mukti Bahini 100,000 - - Air Force Squadrons 11 1\* 11: 1 Navy - Aircraft Carrier 1 - - Destroyers/Frigates 8 - - Landing Ship Tanks 3 - - Source: K. Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors: East Pakistan Crises 1968-71, 1994

The Indian interference in Pakistan's internal affairs had increased in the form of terrorist activities in East Pakistan. In August 1971, a team of doctors visiting for the medical inspection of Pakistani soldiers, concluded in their report that the troops were exhausted and it was recommended to send them on leave.338 Until early November 1971, East Pakistan had been terrorized by the terrorists of Mukti Bahinis, regular Indian soldiers, and other proxy fighters.

Generally, it is considered that Pakistan started the war with a pre-emptive strike on the Indian Airfields. But the leadership in West Pakistan had not moved a finger against the aggression which had been initiated by India on 21st November 1971. 339 On that day, Pakistani troops in East Pakistan came under attack from the Indian artillery, tanks, and air raids. When India cried out that Pakistan had attacked them, East Pakistan in reality had already been under Indian attack for some time. West Pakistan had only opened another war front by attacking the airfields. The Indian government waiting for such a moment blamed the act of aggression on Pakistan. Finally, Yahya Khan accepted the declaration of war in his speech.

Yahya Khan was fully aware of the situation, yet he waited for 3 rd December to declare to the world that Pakistan was at war only to be labelled as aggressors. Even Nixon was alarmed by the Indian aggression but President Yahya upon receiving the news said, 'What can I do for East Pakistan? I can only pray'.'

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338 Niazi, Betrayal of East Pakistan, p.114
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Bhutto on the other hand, continued to manipulate the situation for his own gain. When Bhutto returned from China in November 1971 after high-level talks, he triumphantly declared that the Chinese would support Pakistan in the war against India. Although, the Indian intelligence had correctly reported that Bhutto was given a cold reception and Chou Enlai's promise was for arms and ammunitions only. This intelligence was proved correct later. Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon, echoing Bhutto's words vowed that their ally Pakistan would not be alone, even if they could not intervene from thousands of miles away.341

On the night of  $20^{th}$  and  $21^{st}$  November 1971, the Muslim world was celebrating the end of Ramadan and Eid. On this night taking advantage of the festive occasion of Eid, India attacked East Pakistan.

'The scope of Indian Military involvement increased substantially in the first three weeks of November 1971 but in most instances the Indian units would hit their objectives in East Pakistan and then withdraw to Indian Territory. After the night of 21<sup>st</sup> November, however, tactics changed in one significant way; Indian forces did not withdraw. From 21<sup>st</sup> November several Indian Army divisions divided into small tactical units launched simultaneous military actions on all key border regions of East Pakistan from all directions with both armour and air support...'.342

By that time, India started blaming Pakistan for inciting the war on 3rd December. By now Pakistan had almost already lost the battle since it had sustained 4,000 causalities and nearly the same number of injured; additionally twelve tanks and three aircrafts had also been destroyed, rendering Pakistan in a precarious position.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> AAK Niazi, Betrayal of East Pakistan, p. 128

<sup>334</sup> Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors, p. 350

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Ibid p. 352

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Rao Farman Ali, How Pakistan Got Divided, p. 116

 $<sup>^{339}</sup>$  Muqeem, Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership, National Book Foundation, 1973,p.168

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> Ibid. p. 160

The Indian forces moved into East Pakistan from all directions in Jessore, Rangpur, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Brahmanbaria, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Hilli, Lalmonirhat, Comilla and Feni. Three Corps and the 101 Communication Zone, the equivalent of a corps, also attacked the Pakistani troops. The Indian Lt General Jacob states, 'whenever we attacked the Pakistanis in their prepared defences, they fought with courage and doggedness'. <sup>343</sup> Indian troops were facing difficulties in advancing through the defences, thus strategically they chose to bypass the Pakistani troops attacking them from behind.

- 341 Blood Telegram, Chapter 17
- 342 Niazi, Betrayal of East Pakistan, p. 194
- <sup>343</sup> Jacob, "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, p. 73

The defence of Kamalpur is reminisced for its legendary heroic and brave fight, put up by the valiant Pakistani soldiers against two attacks of the Ninety-five Mountain Brigade. They only surrendered when they were ambushed from the rear resulting in their ammunition supply running dry. Captain Ahsan Malik, the Commander, had been praised by Indian troops to the extent that General Sam Manekshaw recommended him to the Pakistani Chief for a gallantry award.

Teliakhali post fell into the Indian hands at the cost of 23 soldiers' lives and 35 wounded. Khalai post, defended by one Pakistani platoon, reinforced to two companies, retained their post in continuous attacks until an Indian brigade action was called in to defeat them. Three East Pakistani F-86 Sabres were destroyed when 9 infantry division, on 20<sup>th</sup> November, entered Bayra where the full battle cost Pakistan 14 tanks and many soldiers. By 3<sup>rd</sup> December, the Indians had come to know that the war would take a 'long time and a great cost', if they were unable to bypass the Pakistani troops. This 'bypass strategy' was successful because the Pakistan Air Force had weakened significantly in East Pakistan.<sup>344</sup>

By 2<sup>nd</sup> December, the Indian forces had gained territories in North-West Jessore, North and North-West Dinajpur, areas in the Sylhet district, and areas in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On 3rd December, when Pakistan Air force attacked Indian Airfields, from West Pakistan, the Eastern Command and the governor had no prior information about an opening of the Western Front. After this, on 4th December, the Indian attacks came from new launching pads established in the captured territories since 21st November. The Indian Air Force ferociously attacked Dacca airfields where the light anti-aircraft guns supported by the Pakistani fighter jets destroyed 28 Indian aircrafts.<sup>345</sup>

On 5<sup>th</sup> December, news of the surrender of a battalion came to the Eastern Command while it was also reported that the Indian troops were advancing from all directions. On 6<sup>th</sup> December, the Dacca airfield was damaged beyond repair and the East Pakistan airspace come under the Indian control.<sup>346</sup> The Indian airfields across the border were taking part in these air operations, as was the Indian aircraft carrier 'Vikrant' which had already erected a naval blockade. The Pakistan Navy and Air Force were both outgumed and outclassed, and were in no position to fight an outrageously huge number of Indian fighter planes and naval forces. The Army was left unaided to fight the Indian troops.<sup>347</sup> The communication links had broken-down to the extent that civilian telephones were being used for military communications. The disorganized communication and persistent attacks on the forces caused further exhaustion in the forces.

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    344 Ibid, p. 75
    345 Rao Farman Ali, How Pakistan Got Divided, p. 120
    346 Ibid
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Lt General Niazi, on the perusal of the situation was, was advised by Major General Rao Farman Ali to pull back his troops from Dinajpur, Thakurgaon and Rangpur to Bogra, and also those in Comilla to be stationed near the Meghan River. He responded to this advice by saying, 'that the troops stationed there had not been attacked, so it would be unnecessary to move them'. Lt General Niazi, rather than issuing a withdrawal ordered a 'no retreat' until 75 per cent casualties were sustained. 348

After 6<sup>th</sup> December, the Indian forces had two tasks to achieve. First, not to allow the retreating Pakistani forces to cross the rivers into Dacca. Second, Dacca should be captured before the Pakistani reinforcements arrive. These two tasks were easily achieved by the Indian army because the East Pakistani formations lacked the required engineers for crossing huge and mighty rivers. Furthermore, the Indian Air Force, having complete air control was the death knell for united Pakistan's future.

On 7 th December, Hilli was captured by the Indian Forces where the Pakistani troops were too exhausted to defend. General Nazar's Sixteenth Division in the Bogra Sector came under decisive attack, making him flee to avoid capture. The Indian troops captured Jessore without any resistance as the cantonment was found abandoned with intact ammunition dump. The people of West Pakistan remained ignorant about the fall of Jessore into the Indian hands for two days, because as alleged by Major General Rao Farman Ali, Niazi was hiding his failures. Niazi instructed Brigadier Hayat to secure the Khulna Port for the expected US fleet, thus leaving the route to Dacca clear and Jessore foolishly undefended.<sup>349</sup>

347 Muqeem, Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership, National Book Foundation, 1973, p.169 348 Rao Farman Ali, How Pakistan Got Divided, p.125

The governor, on Major General Rao Farm an Ali's reminder, approached the Eastern Commander Niazi for a brief about the war situation at the Corps HQ. In the meeting, Niazi falsely reassured to the governor that the situation was completely under the army's control. He advised, giving the impression that everything was normal, the government ministers to visit different areas to calm down the general public offering the military helicopters for this purpose. This impression was dispelled the very next day, when the Corps HQ refused to arrange the helicopters for the ministers' visit claiming the non-availability of the six helicopters, fulfilling the essential military needs. Niazi's offer was ludicrous revealing his naivety or deviousness, considering the full-blown war situation on his hands.

The governor, Chief Secretary Mr Muzaffar Hussain, and Major General Rao Farman Ali invited Niazi to the Governor House to discuss the ground realities. The governor started the conversation with, 'when two sides fight one wins and the other may lose. At times a commander may have to surrender and at other...' But before he could finish his sentence, Niazi was in tears and weeping. It was evident that the Eastern Commander had lost the will and courage to fight, unable to stand up to his own directive 'last man and last round'.350 A desperate telex was sent to President Yahya, demanding that an urgent ceasefire resolution should be raised in the UN to salvage the downward spiralling situation of East Pakistan. On Niazi's request, the message was sent from the Governor House so that he could protect himself and shift the blame onto the governor in case of any unfortunate event.

Major General Rahim whilst pulling back his troops to Dacca came under attack from the Indian aircrafts while crossing the Meghna River. In the raid, many officers and soldiers died, and Rahim himself got badly injured along with many other soldiers. On 8<sup>th</sup> December, Indian troops advanced towards Mymensingh with new reinforcements, while in Sylhet, they supplemented with helicopter support. The sanguine Indian Army Chief of Staff started

broadcasting the demand for surrender.

Major General Rao Farman consulted Lt General Niazi about the withdrawal of the troops, and duly informed him that the troops were unable to pull back as they were surrounded by the enemy from all sides. The reply of the telex message sent on 7<sup>th</sup> December received a reply informing about the delegation rushed to the United Nations (UN) to achieve the requested. The delegation included Bhutto, travelled to New York on a circuitous route, taking sixty hours to reach to accomplish their 'rushed' assignment. The delegation first travelled to Kabul by road, then flew to Frankfurt, Rome, and London before finally landing at New York. This was allegedly done on Bhutto's insistence as he was quite reluctant to present the united Pakistan case in the UN.

On 9<sup>th</sup> December, in Sylhet, Pakistani troops captured seven Indian tanks. Lt General Niazi sent a Signal (No. G-1255) to GHQ on 9<sup>th</sup> December stating that:

One (.) regrouping readjustment is not possible due to enemy mastery of skies (.) population getting extremely hostile and providing all-out help to enemy (.) rebels guiding enemy through gaps and rear (.) Air field damaged extensively,\* no mission in last three days and not possible in future (.) All jetties, ferries and river crafts destroyed due enemy air action (.) bridges demolished by rebels (.) even extrication most difficult (.) Two (.) extensive damage to heavy weapons and equipment due to enemy air action (.) troops fighting extremely well but stress and strain now telling hard (.) Not slept for last 20 days (.) are under constant fire air artillery and tanks (.) Three (.) situation extremely critical, we will go on fighting and do our best (.) Four (.) request following (.) immediate strike all enemy air bases this theatre (.) if possible reinforcement airborne troops for protection Dacca (.) Message ends.

The airborne demand of Niazi was picked up by the news agencies. This news destroyed the morale of the rest of the troops, who on 11<sup>th</sup> December ran towards the Indian airborne landing near Dacca and surrendered to become their prisoners.

A panicked Governor Tikka Khan sent a message to the President asking for a political settlement and ceasefire. In reply, the following signal was sent:

FLASH Dated 092300 (9 Dec, 1100 hrs P.M) FROM: HQ CMLA TO: GOVERNOR EAST PAKISTAN AND

EASTERN COMMAND

TOPSEC (.) G-0001 (.) From President to Governor repeated to Eastern Command (.) your flash message A4660 of 9 dec received and thoroughly understood (.) you have my permission to take decision on your proposals to me (.) I have and am continuing to take all measures internationally but in view of our complete isolation from each other decision about East Pakistan I leave entirely to your good sense and judgment (.) I will approve of any decision you take and I am instructing Gen Niazi simultaneously to accept your decision and arrange things accordingly (.) Whatever efforts you take in your decision to save senseless destruction of the kind of civilians you have mentioned, in particular the safety of our armed forces, you may go ahead and ensure safety of our armed forces by all political means that you will adopt with our opponent.

On 10<sup>th</sup> December, Pakistani troops at Mymensingh retreated towards Dacca, upon orders from the Eastern Command. In the north of Mymensingh, 31 Baloch regiment, under the command of Lt Colonel Sultan Mahmood, fought with such valour that the Indian opponent had to send him a messenger asking him to surrender. The following messages are testament to the preparedness of the Pakistani forces to hold out, if they were given the proper support.351

[From Brigadier Hardat Singh Kler] To, The Commander Jamalpur Garrison

I am directed to inform you that your garrison has been cut off from all sides and you have no escape route available to you. One brigade with full compliment of artillery has already been built up and another will be striking by the morning. In addition you have been given a foretaste of a small element of our air force with a lot more to come. The situation as far as you are concerned is hopeless. Your higher commanders have already ditched you.

I expect your reply before 6-30 pm today failing which I will be constrained to deliver the final blow for which purpose 40 of MiGs have been allotted to me.

## 351 Matinuddin, Tragedy of Errors, p.417

In this morning's action the prisoners, captured by us have given your strength and dispositions, and are well looked after.

The treatment I expect to be given to this civil messenger should be according to a gentlemanly code of honour and no harm should come to him.

An immediate reply is solicited. Brig H. S. Kler 10 DEC 197 COMD

Reply of Commanding Officer 31 Baloch, Lt Colonel Sultan Mahmood:

Dear Brig.

Hope this finds you in high spirits. Your letter asking us to surrender has been received. I want to tell you that the fighting you have seen so far is very little, in fact the fighting has not even started. So let us stop negotiating and start the fight.

 $40\ sorties$ ,  $I\ may\ point\ out$ , are inadequate. As for many more.

 $Your\ point\ about\ treating\ your\ messenger\ well\ was\ superfluous.\ It\ shows\ how\ you\ underestimate\ my\ boys.\ I\ hope\ he\ likes\ his\ tea.$ 

Give my love to the Mukties. Let me see you with a Sten in your hand next time instead of the pen you seem to have so much master over.

Now get on and Fight Your Sincerely, 10 DEC 71. (COMMANDER JAMALPUR FORTRESS)

Another signal (No. G-1265) sent from the Eastern Command, on 10 DEC to state that:

One (.) alfa (.) all formations this command in every sector this theater under extreme pressure (.) bravo (.) formations/troops mostly isolated in fortresses which initially invested by enemy cmm now under heavy attacks and may be liquidated due overwhelming strength of enemy (.) Charlie

(.) enemy possess mastery of air and freedom to destroy all vehicles at will and with full concentration of effort (.) delta (.) local population and rebels not only hostile but all-out to destroy own troops in entire area (.) echo (.) all communication road/river out (.) Two (.) orders to own troops issued to hold on last man last round which may not be too long to very prolonged fighting cmm troops totally tired (.) anyway will be difficult to hold on when weapons/ammunition exhaust in the next few days (.) supplies/ammunition also continue to the destroyed by enemy/rebels actions besides intense rate battle expenditure (.) Three (.) submitted for information and advice.

On 11 th December, the troops could find no way back into Dacca and were constantly fighting in Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bogra and Nator until the surrender on 16th December. Concurrently the news of the landing of 5000 Indian paratroopers near Dacca emerged, convincing Niazi of being outnumbered, vanquishing any hope of defending Dacca. 352

On  $12^{th}$  December, the Chief of General Staff sent a message in Pashto – Gul Hassan spoke out the message to the Eastern Commander, 'yellows coming from the north and whites from the south'. This illuminates their expectation that the Chinese and Americans would come to their help on the  $13^{th}$  of December.

On 13<sup>th</sup> December, the GHQ sent a message that foreign help would come in the next 48 hours. Niazi was also ordered to defend Dacca until a ceasefire resolution was passed. Indian troops were approaching Dacca from the north, the northeast, the east and the south-east; Dacca was an urgent target for the Indians before the ceasefire resolution was passed.

352 Jabob, "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, p. 127

Consequently, the Indian troops bypassing Dinajpur, Rangpur, Sylhet, Mainamati Cantonment, Khulna and Chittagong, reached the outskirts of Dacca. Contemporaneously, the Soviets informed the Indians of their inability to veto the UN resolution anymore. This development alarmed the Indian Army Chief Manekshaw, because by this time Indians had just successfully captured Comilla and Jessore, where the Pakistani troops withdrew on their own. At this time, the Indian military was also cognizant of the East Pakistan Command's desire to end the hostilities. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Niazi was contacted to which he asked for, 'if they would be guaranteed their rights under the Geneva Convention and if the safety of military and paramilitary personnel and ethnic minorities would be protected upon surrender'.

Niazi sent a signal to President Yahya Khan requesting permission while the Indians embarked on drafting the instrument of Surrender (Annexure-8). 353

On 14<sup>th</sup> December, the Indian Air Force bombed the Governor House, achieving the resignations of the governor and his cabinet even before the air raid ended. The Indian intelligence interceptions were so efficient that almost every message was intercepted. The bombing of the Governor House was decided because President Yahya and the Governor's signal was intercepted in which Yahya clearly rejected the proposal calling for '*immediate cease-fire*, repatriation of other East Pakistanis desirous of returning, safety of persons settled in East Pakistan since 1947, and guarantees that there would be no reprisals'. Yahya was still hoping for the American carrier 'Enterprise' to come to their help. Even though, the carrier had entered the Bay of Bengal, the US refrained from engaging in the war.<sup>354</sup>

General Niazi was in constant contact with the GHQ, receiving President Yahya's signal:

'You have now reached a stage where further resistance is no longer humanly possibly nor will it serve any useful purpose. It will only lead to a further loss of life and destruction. You should now take all necessary measures to stop the fighting'. 355

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353 Jacob, "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, p. 128-129
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As Niazi received the signal he along with Major General Rao Farman Ali, went to the US Consulate General, to present a ceasefire proposal to Mr Herbert Spivack. Spivack, in no position to negotiate the ceasefire, promised to send the message to Indians. The proposal stated:

"To put an end to further loss of human lives a nd destruction we are willing to ceasefire under honourable conditions:

- A. Ceasefire and stop all hostilities immediately in East Pakistan.
- B. Hand over peacefully the administration of East Pakistan as arranged by the UN.
- C. The UN should ensure:
- 1) Safety and security of all Armed Forces personnel of both military and paramilitary forces of Pakistan pending their return to West Pakistan.
- 2) Safety of all West Pakistan . . . civilians and civil servants, pending their return to West Pakistan. 3) Safety of non-locals settled in East Pakistan since 1947.
- 4) Guarantee of no reprisal against those who helped and served the Government and the cause of Pakistan since March 1971."356

The Indians were informed that Niazi had visited the US Consulate General for negotiating the surrender. However, Indians had not received the message until 15<sup>th</sup> December. It went to Washington and Henry Kissinger delayed it assuming that his effort could help Pakistan gain territories in West.

On 15<sup>th</sup> December, Niazi received the reply of Field Marshall Manekshaw. BBC announced the news at 8 p.m. that India had agreed on a ceasefire from 5 p.m. to 9 a.m., on Lt General Niazi's request and surrender negotiations would take place during the ceasefire. At night, the Army Aviation Squadron helicopters escaped to Burma and from there to West Pakistan.357

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356 Ibid, p.137
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On 16<sup>th</sup> December, at 8:30 a.m. the Indian authorities were contacted and the Indian jeeps entered Dacca at midday. Lt General Niazi symbolically surrendered his pistol at the Race Course to General Jagjit Singh Arora.358

<sup>354</sup> Blood Telegram, p. 230

<sup>355</sup> Jacob, "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, p.136

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Muqeem, Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership, National Book Foundation, 1973,p. 189

Bhutto, as a Deputy Prime Minister and at the same time as a Foreign Minister, was the one that had been sent to New York to represent Pakistan's case before the UN. At this critical stage, China remained firm in its support against the Indian aggression. The Chinese Premier, Chou-En-Lai, assured President Yahya Khan, 'In case of Indian involvement in the Pakistani affairs, China would not be an idle spectator but will support Pakistan'.

However, Pakistan had to face the Soviet anger for its cooperation with China. All the members of the UN, except USSR and India, were unanimous on the immediate ceasefire. On 6<sup>th</sup> December 1971, the Soviet Union had imposed its first veto, thus thwarting the Security Council's resolution calling for a ceasefire. However, Poland, with Soviet support, had moved a resolution in the Security Council on 14<sup>th</sup> December, which called for - the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, transfer of power to the elected representatives headed by him, an initial ceasefire for seventy-two hours, withdrawal of the Pakistani forces to preset positions for their evacuations, return of West Pakistani civilian personnel and withdrawal of Indian forces after consulting the newly recognized authorities.

With repeated Soviet vetoes facilitating India's movement in East Pakistan, Bhutto's attitude changed and he rejected the idea of a ceasefire.

Weeping openly, he said, 'I find it disgraceful to my person and my country to remain here...Legalize aggression, legalize occupation, I will not be a party to it'.359

In a gesture of angry protest, he tore up a Security Council paper and stormed out of the Security Council. The day Bhutto walked out of the debate the Indian forces had reached Dacca and the Eastern Command surrendered to avoid 'further bloodshed'.

358 Mugeem, Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership, National Book Foundation, 1973,p. 190 359 Jacob "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, p. 152

The involvement of the Indian army in the last phase had been decisive. At 14.30 hours GMT on the 17th December, a ceasefire was signed and Yahya Khan sent a message to Bhutto to return. He was carefully monitoring the situation, landed at Islamabad airport on 20th December, and drove straight to the President's House, where Yahya and his colleague were waiting for him. Yahya was still hoping to get away with something and return to his previous Chief of Staff position in the army.

However, Bhutto after assuming the office of President and a Civilian Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) had other plans; first he wanted all powers for himself and second he did not want Yahya Khan anywhere near the seat of power. Consequently, in the evening of the same day, in a radio broadcast, he announced the retirement from service of Yahya Khan and six other senior generals ending the embarrassing thirtythree months of Yahya Khan's rule. Yahya Khan, after an unsuccessful effort to cling to power, made way for Bhutto to assume authority in the remaining Pakistan. On his part, Yahya blamed the dismemberment on Bhutto in his signed affidavit (attached as Annexure-10).

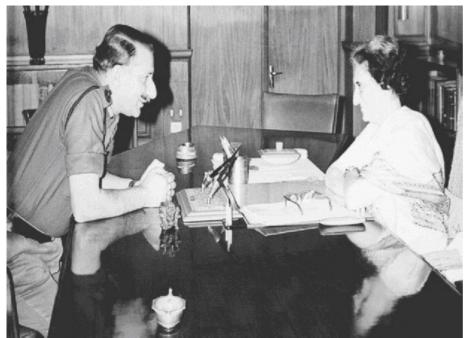
Mujib, who had been previously arrested, tried and sentenced to death by a military court, was later released on a remitted sentence at the behest of Bhutto and sent to East Pakistan. Bhutto also recognized Bangladesh as an independent state, as the final legitimation act, on 23rd February 1974.

### Conclusion

The elections of 1970, a landmark in the political history of Pakistan, produced a result that few political analysts or the contesting parties had anticipated. Mujib's Awami League swept the polls in East Pakistan on one hand while Bhutto's PPP won the majority seats in the Western Wing on the other. However, the impetuous Bhutto and the unfaithful Mujib share considerable blame for the disintegration of the country. Ultimately, the reins of 'new Pakistan' came into the hands of Bhutto, who embarked on the formation of government at the Centre and in the provinces. Armed with the powers of the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Bhutto made swift and resolute moves. All of Bhutto's actions appeared to have been aimed at emphasizing the radical change in circumstances and at consolidating his own position. This further complicated the existing problem in East Pakistan at the time.

It would be right to conclude that the events that led to the separation of East Pakistan were a series of mishaps and selfish decisions by all concerned that were cleverly and cunningly manipulated and exploited by a hostile India. We have already discussed the role of India and her machinations in the previous chapters.

























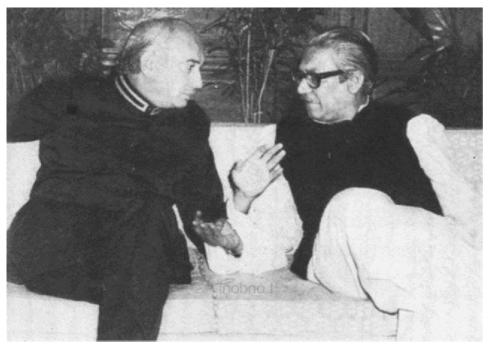


















MUKTI BAHINI – ITS TRUE FACE Introduction

## T

he creation of Bangladesh paints in one's mind, a picture of a series of barbaric and atrocious activities. With deliberate efforts and a propagandist construction, the Pakistani government and army are blamed for violating every norm of humanity. Amid such constructed myths against Pakistan and her army, few accounts have been written to show the reality behind one of the worst examples of human brutalities, where, the indoctrinated fanatic members of Indian-backed Mukti Bahinis killed, raped, and looted innocent people. Men were butchered, women were raped and their naked bodies were thrown out on the streets, children were hanged and their heads were nailed and dashed against walls, hospitals and villages were burnt, animals and eatables were set on fire and almost every source of human life was destroyed. This barbaric campaign of the Mukti Bahinis has always been concealed under the garb of the so-called liberation war of Bangladesh. The reality of the atrocities committed by the Indian backed and manned Mukti Bahinis also cannot be justified or concealed under the garb of liberation. A rational mind would always question cruelty no matter what its justification is. Can the rapes, lootings, and the murders of innocent souls be rationalized as a collateral damage for an ostensible war of liberation? It is indeed a question for history to answer that, was this 'a war of liberation' or 'an Indian backed insurgency'?

In the previous chapters substantial evidence has been presented to ascertain it as to be an Indian backed insurgency presented as a war of liberation to dismember united Pakistan. Thus, no sane mind can legitimize the inhuman campaign of Mukti Bahinis as required for the creation of Bangladesh. The genocide of poor pro-Pakistani Bengalis and especially the non-Bengalis remains one of the worst examples in the shameful history of the genocides of the world. This chapter would reveal the atrocities committed by the 'forgotten terrorists' of the Mukti Bahinis who need to be tried as criminals against humanity and punished mercilessly. This chapter will give a detailed account of the Mukti Bahini as a terrorist group. Its formation, aims and objectives, members, weapons, source of funding, training, military strategies, the modus operandi for operations, the organizational structure, and its reign of terror will be discussed in some prolixity.

The fanatic militants of the fascist Awami League started their operation soon after the postponement of Pakistan's National Assembly session on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1971. Within an hour of President Yahya's announcement, fifty to sixty thousand militants of the Awami League rushed to the streets of Dacca, holding iron rods and bamboo sticks. The militants' mob burnt the Pakistani flag and pictures of Mr Jinnah<sup>360</sup>. From early March 1971 it became evident that planned agitations were taking place under the supervision of Mujib with the guidance and support of the Indian R&AW.

## Mukti Bahini- R&AW's Brain Child

The contacts between Mujib led Awami League and the Indian Intelligence Bureau (IB) was established in the early 1960s. These contacts were unearthed in the famous Agartala Conspiracy Case in 1967 which has been discussed in the previous chapter. Initially, the Awami League and the IB were tasked to fertilize the ground for Indian intervention. After the establishment of R&AW on 21st September 1968, it was specifically assigned to train and raise a militant outfit of the Bengalis which would pave the way for Indian military intervention. Accordingly, after the Indian enforced exodus of the Hindu Bengali refugees from East Pakistan, brought about by the planned attacks of the Mukti Bahini in early 1971, Indira Gandhi called on General Sam Manekshaw the then Army Chief for discussing the modus operandi for the dismemberment of Pakistan. In his book *Mission RAW*, R. K. Yadav the former R&AW official asserts that,

## <sup>360</sup> Bose, Sarmila, Dead Rockoning, C. Hurst & Co, London 2011, p.23.

'Mrs. Gandhi told General Manekshaw that she wanted to take military action against Pakistan army to liberate this wing (East Pakistan) of Pakistan. Manekshaw replied her that If Indian Army was to put in an action in East Pakistan, special riverine operation equipment and training was required for them wherein we are lacking. When Mrs. Gandhi asked the General as to how much time the Indian Army would take for the offensive inside East Pakistan, he replied at least Six months. Since, the Indian army was not prepared and wellequipped for an immediate army action at that point of time, it was planned to raise and train a guerrilla outfit of the Bengali refugees of East Pakistan by R&AW which would harass the Pakistani army till the Indian army would be ready for the final assault for the liberation of East Pakistan' <sup>361</sup>.

In pursuance of the orders of Indira Gandhi, it was decided to set-up a provincial exile government of East Pakistan/Bangladesh in Calcutta. It was in the later part of March 1971, when the Pakistani armed forces initiated a targeted military operation against the terrorists of the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini,

who through agitation and terrorist attacks had paralyzed the East Pakistani government. With fear of being apprehended due to their involvement in spreading chaos, the top leadership of the Awami League excluding Mujib escaped to Calcutta. These included the Vice President of the Awami League Syed Nazrul Islam, Khondaker Moshtaq Ahmed, Qamar-uz-zaman Mansur Ali, and Tajuddin Ahmed. After reaching Calcutta they came under the complete command and control of R&AW362. Under the guidance of the Indira Gandhi led Indian government, the leadership of the Awami League was asked and facilitated to form a Provincial Bangladesh Government. It was 14th April 1971 that the exile provincial Bangladeshi government was formed in a house at '8 Theatre Road Calcutta' and this house was named as 'Mujib Nagar' giving an impression that it was a separate territory. To propagate the stance of the provincial government of Bangladesh, a separate Bangladesh radio 'Free Bengal Betal Kendra' was also established under the supervision of R&AW. Tajjudin Ahmad was nominated as the prime minister, and Syed Nazarul Islam was nominated as the president in Mujib's absence<sup>363</sup>. Colonel M. A. G. Osmani was made the chief of staff of the Bangladesh provincial force (Mukti Bahinis). Here it is vital to understand that the creation of Mujib Nagar and all the drama of the Bangladeshi government was merely staged to provide legitimacy to the forthcoming Indian military action. The formal establishment of the Mukti Bahini was taking place in the so-called refugee camps; even the Awami League leadership escaped East Pakistan under the shield of being refugees 364. Here, the moral grounds of the supposed refugees can be gauged, where, the terrorists of the Mukti Bahinis were being raised to kill and rape innocent East Pakistanis. Nevertheless, the formal establishment of the Mukti Bahinis took place in April 1971 structured and nourished by R&AW, but its roots may be traced back to 1960s. In the various meetings between the Indian establishment and the Awami League leadership, the former encouraged the latter to initiate their independence campaign, promising and then actually providing funds, weapons, amnunitions, and other needed support 365. For this purpose, initially it was the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) which started giving essential sabotage training to the terrorists of the Awami League. However, after Indian Gandhi's instructions, R&AW operatives along with BSF and other paramilitary forces of India started training the terrorists of the Awami League and the Mukti Bahinis at the Hindu-dominated refugee camps. B. Raman, the exR&AW official in his book The Kaoboys of R&AW also confesses that India assisted and supported the formation of the Mukti Bahinis. He acknowledges that, 'Indira Gandhi decided to assist the Bengali-speaking people of East Pakistan to separate it from Pakistan and achieve an Independent state to be called Bangladesh' 366. Giving more details he also mentions that, 'the Indian armed forces under the leadership of Field Marshal Manekshaw and the Border Security Force (BSF) headed by the late K. F. Rustomji overtly and the *R&AW* and the *IB* covertly ensured this '367.

<sup>361</sup> Yadav RK, Mission RAW, Manas Publications, New Dehli, 2014, p. 231. <sup>362</sup> Ibid, p. 232

From the confessions of Mr Raman, it is evident that India launched all its armed forces to train and prepare the Mukti Bahinis to spread terror and to clear the route for India's military intervention in East Pakistan.

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid, p. 232.
<sup>365</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis
<sup>1968-1971</sup>, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994,p278.
<sup>366</sup> Raman B, The Kaoboys of R&AW, Lancer ,New Delhi , 2013,
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## **Objectives and Operations**

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of the Mukti Bahinis was to prepare a ground for the Indian military intervention in East Pakistan. The Mukti Bahini's mandate and objectives were crafted in very 'patriotic terms' and phrases like *Independent State*, *SelfDetermination* and *Liberation* were widely echoed in their slogans. But these phrases were mere Indian constructs to garner domestic support for their heinous designs and crimes. The real intent behind the formation of the Mukti Bahinis was to harass the Pakistani forces and to spread terror in the general population of East Pakistan. However, according to the Ambassador Lt Colonel (Retd) Sharif Haq Dalim Bir Uttam, one of the famous commanders of the Mukti Bahinis, and later the Bangladeshi senior diplomat, the objectives and the operational mechanisms of the Mukti Bahinis were;

a. Arrangements would have to be made to induct large number of guerrillas inside East Pakistan through most favourable ways and to route fight the Pakistan army from all direction.

b. No industry will be allowed to function. By destroying the power stations, substations and demolishing the pylons electric supply system, has to be disrupted.

c. Export of any raw material or finished products to be totally stopped.

All godowns are to be destroyed.
d. All means of communications such as transports, roads and rail communication, riverine communication, bridges, etc. to be destroyed, so that enemy cannot maintain the line of supply.
e. Tactical operation should be so planned that the enemy is forced to disperse into isolate pockets.

f. The guerrilla bands should be trained to live among the people like fish in water and fight Pakistan army from all directions <sup>368</sup>.

Exclusively, the R&AW dictated operational objectives of the Mukti Bahinis were, firstly to demoralize the pro-Pakistani forces. Secondly, it aimed at shattering the economy of East Pakistan. Thirdly, the Mukti Bahinis were tasked to destroy all sorts of communication sources. Fourthly, they were to engage the Pakistani forces in long hit-and-run battles to spread fatigue and desperation to incur desertion in the ranks of the Pakistani army. Finally, the most vital objective was to pave the ground for the Indian military attack.

<sup>368</sup> Dalim, Lt. Col. (Retd) Shariful Haq, "Bangladesh Untold Facts", Jumhoori Publications, Lahore, 2011, p.250

Keeping in view the abovementioned objectives, it's evident that through terrorists of the Mukti Bahini, the Indian establishment spread chaos through sabotage campaigns and accomplished destruction of the communications system. By shattering the economy and destruction of the godowns, the Mukti Bahinis exploited the already weakened economy of East Pakistan and further spread hatred against the Pakistani armed forces. Here an equally important aspect would be to highlight the Indian intentions for supporting and organizing the Mukti Bahinis. Apart from materializing her dream of Pakistan's dismemberment, the hegemonic India aimed to convert East Pakistan into an Indian satellite state after its creation. Such Indian intentions may be witnessed in

the reported treaty between the so-called provincial government of Bangladesh at Mujib Nagar and the Indian establishment signed in October 1971<sup>369</sup> .

The 7-point secret treaty is reproduced below:

- a. After establishment of Bangladesh, the administrative officers who actively participated in the war of liberation would remain in their posts. The rest would be terminated and vacant posts would be filled up by the Indian administrative officers.
- b. After the liberation of Bangladesh the required number of Indian soldiers would remain in Bangladesh.
- c. Bangladesh would not form and maintain any formal Indian regular Armed Forces.
- d. To maintain internal security and law and order a militia would be formed comprising of the Mukti Bahinis.
- e. The chief of Indian Armed Forces would lead to the probable war with Pakistan. The Mukti Bahini would work under the Indian Armed Forces.
- f. Trade transactions between the two countries would be free and open. The volume of trade would be calculated once in a year and the price would be paid in pound-sterlings.
- 369 Abedin, Zainal, RAW and Bangladesh, Madina Printers, 1995, p. 9.

g. The Foreign Ministry of Bangladesh would maintain a close liaison with External Affairs of Ministry of India and the latter would assist the former as far as possible <sup>370</sup>.

The text and language of the above-mentioned treaty clearly demonstrates that, India was not the helping hand in the so-called liberation war of the Bengalis, but actually was following her own plan for the dismemberment of Pakistan. And, additionally was aiming to convert the newlycreated state into a 'satellite state' to pursue her expansionist interests. Intoxicated with the constructed myth of national liberation, the Mukti Bahinis were actually fighting the war for India. The Indian operative measures to pursue her evil designs have been further described by B. Raman in his *Kaoboys of R&AW*. According to him, 'the R&AW's operations were fivefold Provision of intelligence to the policymakers and the armed forces; to train the Bengali freedom fighters in clandestine training camps; to network with Bengali public servants from East Pakistan posted in West Pakistan and in Pakistan's diplomatic missions abroad and persuade them to co-operate with the freedomfighters and to help in the freedom struggle by providing intelligence; to mount a special operation in the CHT against the sanctuaries and training camps of the Naga and Mizo hostiles; and to organize a psychological warfare campaign against the Pakistani rulers by disseminating reports about the massacres of the Bengalis in Pakistan and the exodus of refugees' 371.

### **Organizational Structure**

The military crackdown of the Pakistan army, necessitated by the agitation and sabotage activities of the terrorists of the Awami League in early March 1971, resulted in a large-scale migration of the Bengalis - mostly Hindus to India, who were used to broaden the training campaign. The Awami League and the terrorists under the cover of refugees reached the Indian based refugee camps. These refugee camps were covertly transformed into training camps for the militants of the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini. With the help of R&AW and the Indian army, the terrorist outfit Mukti Bahini was launched formally under the command of Colonel Osmani in April 1971. By middle of July 1971, Colonel Osmani with the help of the head of R&AW, R. N. Kao, Deputy K. Sankaran, and regional officers of the Indian Boarder Security Forces implemented a comprehensive guerrilla operation in all the regions of East Pakistan. A terrorist force of one hundred thousand was organized; recruited and trained collectively by R&AW, BSF, Assam Rifles and other Indian military and paramilitary forces<sup>372</sup>.

370 Abedin, Zainal, RAW and Bangladesh, Madina Printers, 1995, p.9. 371 Raman B, The Kaoboys of R&AW, Lancer, New Delhi, 2013,

The Mukti Bahinis were divided into many groups briefly discussed below:

## The Niamit Bahini:

Consisting of regular forces, this group was assigned to wage guerrilla war against the troops of the Pakistani army. The group members were mostly from the East Pakistan Rifles, Ansars, Mujahid Corps and police. Most of the members were already trained but still many of them were given special training by the Indians for sabotage and specific hit- and-run attacks.

#### Sector Troops:

The members of sector troops were mostly instructors, subcommanders and guerrilla commanders. These were from the regular forces of the Niamit Bahini. These were known as the sector troops owing to their positioning in different areas/sectors of East Pakistan.

## The Gona Bahini:

These were the irregular terrorist forces assigned for laying mines, blowing up bridges, culverts, ambushes, sabotage operations, blowing power houses and strategic nerve centers. Most members of this group were students. This group was especially trained by R&AW for covert campaigns. The group was tasked to destroy the communication set-up and blow up the routes used by the Pakistani armed forces. **Gram Parishads:** 

Apart from the above main forces, another important group was the Gram Parishads. It was established in most of the villages of East Pakistan. These were structured as small units. They worked as informers and would provide information about the movements of the Pakistani forces. Besudesm they would assist the Mukti Bahini's terrorist forces to organize rural sanctuaries for them.

#### Naval Wing

A small naval wing was established by R&AW which was assigned for conducting naval operations. With the help and support of R&AW, this naval wing conducted operations against the Pakistani forces and in few cases succeeded in sinking the Pakistani vessels. They also tried to cut the supply lines of the Pakistani forces. All this was covertly managed by R&AW<sup>373</sup>.

## 372 Yadav RK, Mission RAW, Manas Publications, New Dehli, 2014, p. 235

Amid these groups there were other clusters of terrorists which were categorized on the basis of their functions.

## **Action Group:**

This group was 50 to 100 per cent armed by Indian weapons and were required to engage in direct hit-and-run attacks on the Pakistani forces.

#### Intelligence Group

This group was established under the command of the intelligence cell based in C-nC's secretariat in the headquarters of Mujib Nagar in Calcutta. The group was assigned to gather information about the Pakistani forces and their movements. The group was thirty to fifty per cent armed with Indian small arms as they were not to carry out attacks on the forces. The remaining arms were of Soviet or Israeli origin.

#### **Terrorist Bases:**

The sector troops would establish and maintain these terrorist bases. All arrangements for food, and training were made available in these bases. Medical

teams were also present to provide medical assistance, duly supported with Indian equipment and supplies.

## 373 Ibid, p. 236.

On geographical basis, all forces of the Mukti Bahinis were divided in eleven sectors<sup>374</sup>. These sectors were further divided into sub-sectors and were organized under a sector commander and sector headquarter. According to Lt Colonel (Retd) Shariful Haq Dalim, following were the eleven sectors of the Mukti Bahini.

## Sector 1:

This sector was formed in Chittagong, and covered the areas of hill tracts part of Noakhali and River Fein. Under the command of Major Ziaur-Rehman this sector was divided into 5 sub-sectors. The sector had twenty one hundred Bengali soldiers from East Pakistan Rifles, Police, Navy and Air force and had twenty thousand guerrillas out of which eight thousand were organized members of the action group.

#### Sector 2:

This sector covered the areas of Faridpur, Comilla, Noakhali and part of Dacca. Major Khaled was the sector commander. Divided into 6 subsectors it had four thousand soldiers (4,000) and about thirty thousand (30,000) guerrillas.

## Sector 3:

This sector was formed in Naryan Ganj, Maulvi Bazar, Brahmanbaria and Kerani Ganj. This sector composed of 10 subsectors having the strength of ten thousand (10,000) guerrillas. The sector was commanded by Major Shafiullah.

## Sector 4:

This sector was spread over the areas of Sylhet Saddar in north, Hobignaj in south and Patharia range was at its eastern border. Under the command of Major Chitta Ranjan Dutta this sector had further 6 sub-sectors. It had twelve thousand (12,000) guerrillas and three thousand (3,000) regular troops.

### Sector 5:

Sector 5 was formed of the northern parts of the Sylhet district. Divided in further 6 sub-sectors, this sector was under the command of Major Shawkat Ali. It had eight hundred (800) regular soldiers and five thousand (5,000) guerrillas.

#### Sector 6:

Sector 6 was formed of Rangpur and Dinajpur districts. This sector was under the command of Wing Commander M. K. Bashar and had more subsectors than any other. It had twelve hundred (1200) regular troops and six thousand (6,000) guerrillas.

 $^{374}\, Dalim, Lt.\, Col.\, (Retd)\, Shariful\, Haq, \\ ``Bangladesh\,\, Untold\, Facts", Jumhoori\, Publications, Lahore, 2011, p.\,251$ 

## Sector 7:

Sector 7 comprised of Pabna, Rajshahi, and parts of Dinajpur. Sector was under the command of Major Nazamul Haq. The regular troops were two thousand (2,000) and the guerrillas were four thousand (4,000). This sector was divided into further 8 sub-sectors.

#### Sector 8:

Sector 8 was formed in Kusthia, Jessore, and part Khulna. It had further 7 sub-sectors. Initially was under the command of Major M. A.

Osman Choudhary and later Major Manzoor was made the commander. It had three thousand (3,000) regular troops and eight thousand (8,000) guerrillas.

## Sector 9:

This sector covered parts of Faridpur and Khulan, Barishal Patuakhali and Shunderban. Captain M. A. Jalil was the sector commander. It had 8 sub-sectors. The strength of this sector had fifteen hundred (1500) regular troops and fifteen thousand (15,000) guerrillas.

## Sector 10:

Sector 10 was composed of naval commandos and had no geographical boundary. They were sent in different sectors for operating against the naval and maritime shipping vessels of Pakistani forces.

#### Sector 11:

The Northern Western areas like the Tura and Garo Hill formed this sector. Major Abu Taher was the sector commander and had twenty five thousand (25,000) guerrillas and had 8 sub-sectors 375.

Apart from the Mukti Bahinis, there were two other organizations trained and organized by R&AW. These groups were trained collectively by the Special Frontier Force (SFF), an Indian commando task force, and R&AW.

## Mujib Bahini:

These were the student leaders of the Awami League who were considered to be very loyal to Mujib. The prominent members of this group were Sheikh Jamal, the younger son of Mujib, Sheikh Fazal Haque Moni, Tufail Ahmed, Shiraz, Abdul Razak, and Asraf<sup>376</sup>. R. N. Kao, the R&AW chief, placed these indoctrinated young men under the command of Major General S. S. Ubhan, head of (SFF). These 10,000 youth most of them being university and school students were trained by the SFF in the hilly terrain of Chittagong. They were later named as the Mujib Bahini and were given the Chittagong area for perpetrating terrorist actions.

<sup>375</sup> Dalim, Lt. Col. (Retd) Shariful Haq, "Bangladesh Untold Facts". Jumhoori Publications, Lahore, 2011, p.250-252.

#### Kader Bahini:

Under the leadership of Abdul Kader Siddique (Ex-member of Pakistan Army) another organization was established and trained by R&AW. According to R. K. Yadav, 'Kader was the main operative of R&W in the most vital areas of Strategic operation around Dacca' 377. Kader Bahini had guerrilla

forces of sixteen thousand (16,000) of local Bengalis. The main operative area of this terrorist organization was the Tangail district but it also conducted operations in the Thanas of Dacca and the Mymensingh district.

Apart from these organizations, two other organizations were also formed, the *Tohfaan Bahini* and the *Beman Bahini*. The Beman Bahini was considered to be the Bangladeshi Air force. It was also reported that India with financial and technical support of the Soviet Union was constructing an airfield for the rebels in Betar<sup>378</sup>. All in all, the organizational structure of the Mukti Bahinis was sketched and organized entirely by R&AW and the Indian military. It was shaped as a guerrilla outfit and was divided into different groups on the basis of their function and area of geographical operations. The sectors were organized in all of East Pakistan to carry out different sorts of terrorist attacks. The study of the training of the Mukti Bahini further reveals that R&AW indoctrinated thousands of immature minds and armed them against their own army for conducting terrorist operations.

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376 Yadav RK, Mission RAW, Manas Publications, New Dehli,2014,p.239.
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## Training

As discussed above, prior to the Indian military intervention in East Pakistan, the Mukti Bahinis were raised and trained by R&AW and the Indian military to harass the Pakistani army and to pave the ground for the Indian military action in East Pakistan when opportune. Hence, in early May 1971, proper training of the Awami League's militants and terrorists started on a very large scale. As asserted by Brigadier Jagdev Singh, 'The resistance needed planning weapons and leadership and only India could provide them' 379. Therefore, India planned a large-scale training campaign soon after the Pakistan army started operation in March 1971. India launched *Operation Jackpot* to provide assistance and appropriate training to the militants of the Awami League and to fully organize the terrorists of the Mukti Bahinis<sup>380</sup>. Sankaran Nair, R&AW's deputy chief and in charge of the Pakistani desk, was joined by P. N. Banerjee, head of Bangladesh operations in R&AW and M. B. K. Nair, head of technical division, visited the R&AW-controlled check posts, where the commandos of the Security Frontier Force were stationed to training the alleged 'refugees of East Pakistan'. Many monitoring stations were established on the border checkposts and few inside East Pakistan during this visit. These stations helped in the coordination of R&AW offices in Calcutta and its headquarters in New Delhi for these training operations<sup>381</sup>.

By the end of July 1971, under the *Operation Jackpot*, a long course of training was organized by the Mukti Bahini in various guerrilla bands, which were than allocated different tasks and operational areas. The Indian army with the help of R&AW had established 59 training camps where the 'refugees' were indoctrinated and motivated for operating against the Pakistan army. A serving Major General of the Indian army was appointed for organizing these training camps<sup>382</sup>. Mujib Nagar was declared as the headquarters of the Mukti Bahini.

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<sup>379</sup> Singh, Jagdev, Brig, Dismemberment of Pakistan, Indo-Pakistan war, 1971, Lancer International New, Dehli, 1988, p.69.
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There were different types of trainings, keeping in view the age and educational background of the terrorists.

Science Graduates: The science graduates were trained in technical areas of sabotage for two months.

Undergraduates: The young undergraduate students were trained specifically in using small arms, rocket launchers, and mortars and map-reading and commando tactics

**Non-Matriculates:** In this category, they were trained in sabotage, use of various types of mines, explosives, and grenades. More specifically, they were trained in destroying the infrastructure including bridges and culverts.

The recruits were given training of three months and an additional period of training was given for specialized subversive tasks. After the completion of training the terrorists were helped to penetrate in East Pakistan to carry out heinous crimes under different cells and sectors. Excluding the police, the Indian military had a total of 70,000 Bengali dissidents. With such strength it didn't take much time for the Indians to establish eight fully trained and equipped Mukti Bahini battalions. In addition, the following six training camps were established in different areas of India383.

### Serial Designation Location Commander

1 Alpha Sector

2 Bravo Sector

3 Charlie Sector

4 Delta Sector

5 Echo Sector

6 Foxtrot Sector Moorti Camp, West Bengal Raiganj, West Bengal

Chakulia, Bihar

Decta Mura, Tripura

Masipur, Assam

Tura, Meghalaya

Brigadier Joshi

Brigadier Prem Singh Brigadier N. A. Naik Brigadier Shah Beg Singh Brigadier B. Wadia

Brigadier Sant Singh

Apart from these training camps, six to eight hundred members of the Mukti Bahini were trained inside India in various Indian military institutions. Even the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> Ibid, p.242.

<sup>378</sup> Niazi, General A.A.K, The Betrayal of East Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 71

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Jacob, LT Gen JFR, "Surrender at Dacca, Birth of a Nation", Monahar Publicaters, New Delhi, 2011, p. 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Yadav RK, Mission RAW, Manas Publications, New Dehli, 2014, p. 233.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Niazi, General A.A.K, The Betrayal of East Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 1998,

doors of Indian military academy were opened for the Mukti Bahini<sup>384</sup>. It was reported that after every six weeks two thousand Mukti Bahini were trained for guerrilla operations<sup>385</sup>. Moreover, three hundred members of the Mukti Bahini were sent to Cochin for underwater saboteurs training and another three hundred recruits, most of them being students, were similarly trained as frogmen at Plassey on the Bhargirathi River in West Bengal386.

383 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East: Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p 230-231

To sum up, the entire Indian establishment including the Indian government, the civil and military agencies, the Indian navy, air force and army were involved in training and raising the terrorists of the Mukti Bahinis. Through a close look into their training period and their military strategy, it becomes evident that basically it was the Indian force which was fighting the Pakistani armed forces under the cover of the Mukti Bahini from early March 1971. The scale of their training and the involvement of R&AW and the Indian military does not conform to the claims of entitling the Mukti Bahini as freedom fighters. The Mukti Bahini were the product of R&AW and the Indian military to accomplish their plan of the dismemberment of Pakistan.

## Membership and Strength

The Mukti Bahini membership composed of the dissidents of the East Bengal Regiments, the East Pakistan Rifles, the Razakars (home guards), the militants of the Awami League, the brainwashed Bengali students and most prominently the members of the Indian army. According to Lt General A. A. K. Niazi, 'The strength of Bengali armed force which rebelled after 25 March 1971, was 162,000. The number of civilian trained by the Russians and Indians was about 125,000. Thus the total number of Bengalis in Mukti Bahini was 287,500. Add 50,000 personnel of the Indian army who joined them in the garb of Muktis, which swells the total to a formidable number' <sup>387</sup>.

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<sup>384</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors East: Pakistan Crisis 1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994,p 230.
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- <sup>385</sup> Palit, D.K., Maj.Gen., The Lighting Campaign, Compton Press, Salisbury, 1972, p.57.
- 386 Rose, Sission Richard and Leo E., War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh, University of California Press, Berkely, LA, 1990, p. 184.
- <sup>387</sup> Niazi, General A.A.K, The Betrayal of East Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 1998,

It has always remained an open secret that the members of the Indian military had conducted operations in East Pakistan under the cover of the Mukti Bahini prior to the Indian military intervention. Morarji Desai, the former Indian Prime Minister, confessed that, 'the war with Pakistan was willed and provoked by Mrs. Gandhi...she dispatched to East Pakistan thousand and thousand of Indian soldiers out of uniform disguised as Mukti Bahini and that five thousand of them died in the enterprise between April and December 1971' 388. In an interview with Oriana Fallaci, a prominent Italian journalist, Mr Desai repeated his confession and remarked, 'Regular Indian soldiers disguised as the Mukti Bahini have been fighting the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan from April till December 1971 when after losing 5,000 men in covert operations, Indira ordered open war'. 389

General V. K. Singh in his book *Courage and convection* writes, 'we routinely went with the Mukti Bahinis to register targets. Usually we would have a sprinkling of our boys mixed with freedom fighter (Mukti Bahini) and on one occasion I found myself on a reconnaissance of a bridge with the Mukti Bahinis' <sup>390</sup>.

Buttressing this expose' of the Indian military's involvement in East Pakistan prior to the Indian intervention of December 1971, S. Brata, a Bengali Hindu journalist stated that, 'Muktis were, in fact, Indian soldiers and that if he had written about it "while he was in India, he would undoubtedly have been arrested" 391.

Apart from the direct presence of the Indian military men among the ranks of the Mukti Bahini, the recruited students and the youth were also another source of the Mukti Bahini's strength. Amid the political destabilization, the Awami League and the other Indianoriented political organizations gradually organized their militant underground wings. Such militant wings constituted of the students and the immature youth who were indoctrinated by the leaders of the Awami League. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Hindudominated media of East Pakistan had started propagating separatist ideas soon after the creation of Pakistan.

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388 Ibid, p.75.
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- <sup>389</sup> Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p. 152.
- <sup>390</sup> Singh, General VK, Courage and Conviction Aleph Book Company, New Delhi,

2013, p. 54.

 $^{391}$  Mehmood, Safdar, Pakistan Divided, Ferozsons Ltd, Lahore, 1984, p. 152

Colonel Osmani was responsible for the training, recruitment and selection of the Mukti Bahinis. The ages of the recruits were between sixteen and twentyfive years. Before the Pakistan army's operation in East Pakistan, five thousand (5,000) Bengali soldiers were serving in the East Bengal Regiment and sixteen thousand (16,000) in the East Pakistan rifles. Additionally, forty-five thousand (45,000) were serving in the Police and fifty thousand (50,000) were the Razakars392. Prior to the Pakistan army-led operation in March 1971 a total of one hundred and sixteen thousand (116,000) Bengalis were serving in civil and military forces. After two months of the operation, almost seventy thousand (70,000) of the Bengali dissidents from Army, Police, and Razakars joined the Indian forces and supported the Awami League's stance. Therefore, the dissidents, the terrorists of the Awami League, the indoctrinated youth, the students, the Awami League-backed professors and intellectuals under the command of Colonel Osmani, formally established the Mukti Bahini on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1971.

Different accounts were given in the international press on the total strength of the Mukti Bahini. For instance, according to the *Guardian*, 'Impartial analysis credit the guerrilla organization with having expanded within seven months from zero to a force of eighty thousand 80,000 to one hundred thousand (100,000), a figure roughly equal to the number of regular Pakistani soldiers deployed against them' 393. According to the estimate of The Daily Telegraph, 'their strength was at fifty thousand (50,000) men and 150,000 active supporters' 394.

It is vital to investigate the date of the Mukti Bahini's formal establishment, the Pakistan army-led operation started on 25th March 1971, hardly 15 days prior to the formation of the Mukti Bahini. Those who consider the Mukti Bahini as a reactionary force established as a reaction to the Pakistani military operation must revisit their approach, and mull over how a large force of hundreds and thousands of trained terrorists was created, armed, and trained in the short span of fifteen days?

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<sup>392</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis
<sup>1968-1971</sup>, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994,p 230
<sup>393</sup> The Guardian, 3 November 1971.
<sup>394</sup> The Daily Telegraph, 24 November 1971.
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## Military Strategy

The military strategy adopted by the Mukti Bahini was planned by the Indian military and R&AW. The threefold strategy adopted by the Mukti Bahini was basically a gradual move towards the Indian military intervention. The three-phased operations of the Mukti Bahini were:

#### First Phase:

From March to April 1971, the Mukti Bahini operated collectively with the Indian Boarder Security Forces in order to keep the Pakistani forces away from the border region and help the Indian forces to get a better understanding of the transborder terrain.

#### Second Phase:

In the second phase which was from May to June 1971, the Mukti Bahini penetrated deep inside East Pakistan to carry out subversive activities. The terrorists of the Mukti Bahini including the Indian soldiers in civil disguise mixed with the local civilians, carried out terrorist acts such as ambushing conveys, blowing up bridges, destruction of infrastructure, blocking roads and other communication and transportation channels, and assassination of isolated armed personnel. In one such incident 38 jute mills were attacked and destroyed in Mymensingh and Khulna<sup>395</sup>. Similarly, in another incident the Mukti Bahini with the support of the Indian regular forces attacked and captured Bariab Bazaar on 20th June 1971396. Most of these terrorist attacks occurred between May and June 1971.

#### Third Phase:

The third phase of the Mukti Bahini operations started after August 1971. This phase was an overt phase, where the Mukti Bahini with a support of the Indian artillery attacked Pakistani border checkposts and other vulnerable enclaves brazenly. By the end of October 1971, the Mukti Bahini carried out extensive explosions on both public and private places. This phase was marked by more heinous crimes committed by the Mukti Bahini, where everybody including old men, women, and children were killed even if an iota of suspicion was found against their collaboration with the Pakistani forces. The main objective of this phase was to capture strategic positions and to fertile the terrain for the Indian military intervention. India openly helped the Mukti Bahini throughout their operation, particularly in the final phase. The Mukti Bahini were supported by the Indian artillery, tanks, and even the Indian Air Force<sup>397</sup>.

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    395 Economic Times, May 7, 1971.
    396 Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis
    1968-1971, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p. 235.
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The entire military strategy of the Mukti Bahinis was drawn by the Indian military and R&AW to exhaust the Pakistani army before India's direct intervention.

## Weaponry

Irrefutably, India remained the main arms supplier of the Mukti Bahini, several historical evidences supporting a vivid demonstration of this fact. *The Telegraph* reported on 14th April 1971 that, 'a train load of Indian weapons has apparently reached the secessionist force near Madaripur' 398. Similarly Washington Post and The New York Times reported that, 'Reports have likewise confirmed that arms were supplied "directly by India" 399. The Bihar Chief Minister confessed that, 'He was firm on the point of supply of arms and ammunition to Bangladesh' 400. Lt General A. A. K. Niazi asserted in his book, The betrayal of East Pakistan that, 'the Mukti Bahini bought weapons from foreign sources sympathetic to them such as Israel, USSR, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia and from Eastern Markets like Hong Kong. . . . . Limpet mines of Russian origin were captured from rebel frogmen. . . . American arms were also recovered from rebels . . . An American 57 mm RR was captured at Chittagong' 401. The

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid, p. 236.
<sup>398</sup> The Telegrapgh, 14 April 1971.
<sup>399</sup> The Washington Post, 13 September 1971, and The New York Times, 10 and 13 October 1971
<sup>400</sup> Matinuddin, Lt. Gen (Redt) Kamal, The Tragedy of Great Errors: East Pakistan Crisis
<sup>1968-1971</sup>, Wajidalis, Lahore 1994, p. 232.
<sup>401</sup> Niazi, General A.A.K, The Betrayal of East Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 72.
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Israeli support has also been revealed by Srinath Raghavan in his book, 1971: A global history of the Creation of Bangladesh. His research based on the P. N. Haksar papers, (the official papers of P. N. Haksar, the principal secretary of Indira Gandhi) reveals, 'India's ambassador to France D. N. Chatterjee began the process to get Israeli arms with a note to the external affairs ministry on July 6, 1971, saying assistance from Israel for "propaganda, finance and even procurement of armament and oil" would be "invaluable" 402, this policy was covertly supported by Indira Gandhi. Ragvan further revealed that, 'Mrs Gandhi reached out to Israel with a request for vital weapons and ammunitions especially heavy mortars to support the Mukti Bahini's-operations "403".

#### Reign of Terror

Winston Churchill rightly c laims that 'History is written by the Victors'. The unfortunate state of affairs in the 1971-insurgency allowed the Indians and their patrons to win over and create Bangladesh. Thus the history of Bangladesh has also been written and propagated by the victors. These forces have constructed a vicious and barbaric image of Pakistan and her army, where they are accused of massacre, raping, and looting. However, the reality still remains untold. Very few altruistic accounts have been written to find out the real culprits behind the ghastly genocide and rapes of those, who wished and endeavoured to preserve Jinnah's dream of unity. This book attempts to portray the reality of the monstrosities of the Mukti Bahini as debt owed to the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims deprived of their lives and honours. The Mukti Bahini reign of terror remains one of most barbaric and vicious chapters of human miseries. In this most gruesome chapter humanity wept as men were beheaded in front of their wives, children were lynched and murdered in their mothers' wombs, women were brutally raped and their naked bodies mutilated in streets, mosques were transformed into slaughterhouses, and copies of the Holy Quran were burnt and disrespected. These abominable acts were committed by the so-called Muslims of the Mukti Bahini. A chronological account of

the atrocities committed by the Mukti Bahini would be presented in the following sections to highlight the reality behind the so-called 'Bangladesh War of Liberation'.

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402 Raghavan, Srinath, "1971 A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh", Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 181-182.
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The following section discusses the atrocious crimes committed by the Mukti Bahini terrorists, their Indian masters, and the Awami League miscreants. The first section will shed light on the events that took place in various parts of East Pakistan, before zero hour, after the postponement of the assembly session. The second subsection will delve into the massacres, rapes, loots, and arson committed by the Mukti Bahini and the Awami League, with the testimonies of the witnesses repatriated to Karachi. The third section presents details related to the fighters, supporters, and sympathizers of the Mukti Bahini who were involved in heinous crimes against the state, federal troops, and peaceful citizens.

Loot, Murder, and Arson committed

#### 1st March 1971.

To avoid the political confrontation between East and West Pakistan, President Yahya Khan announced postponement of the National Assembly session. The Mukti Bahini, politically brainwashed by the fascists of the Awami League, seized the moment on 1st March 1971 and called for province-wide agitation and formally launched their assault against united Pakistan. Within hours, the cases of loot, arson, vandalism and other acts of violence were reported. The incidents of loot and arson increased throughout Dacca. The Narayanganj Rifle Club depots were raided and the terrorists seized the arms and ammunition required for their plans of hijacking Dacca. The headquarters of these terrorists was Dacca University where they prepared themselves for the attacks in two hostels: Jagannath Hall and Iqbal Hall. These armed terrorists roamed freely on the streets of Dacca, casting a shadow of their terror over the city<sup>404</sup>.

#### 2nd March 1971.

The militants looted the firearms shops and fransported the ammunition to Dacca University. In different parts of East Pakistan, the national flag of Pakistan was burnt by a violent mob which was an organized group of terrorists receiving proper instructions from the leadership of the Awami League. When the violence escalated and got out of the hands of the local authorities, the army was called to control the grave situation.

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404 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.5
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The once serene Jagannath and Iqbal Halls of Dacca University, had become training centers for the terrorists of the Mukti Bahini, and echoed with firearm sounds prior to the military targeted operation at the University campus 405. A gun battle between the Pakistan army and militants of the Awami League was also reported at the Sadarghat TV station (Dacca), for thwarting its forceful capture by the militants of the Mukti Bahini406.

## 3rd March 1971.

Mujib held a press conference to declare a strike throughout East Pakistan – a stronghold of the Awami League – initiating a civil disobedience movement. During the conference, Mujib deflected the question about the burning of the Pakistani national flag at the Dacca University with a terse 'No Comment'. Islampur, Patuakhali Bazar, Nawabpur, and other suburbs of Dacca came under violent attacks of the Mukti Bahini. The loot and plunder of the shops, including a general store, a watch shop, and firearms shops, on Jinnah Avenue was reported. The horrifying incident of the burning of fifty huts also occurred on this fateful day. This hellish day witnessed the killing of five people and wounding of sixty two in the widespread wave of violence throughout Dacca. Schools and colleges were closed down; the TV station stopped playing the Pakistani national anthem replacing it with the controversial 'Bangladesh'407. In Khulna, a local telephone exchange was attacked by an alleged mob, in reality they were the militants of the Awami League, armed with sticks and spears. The security guards guarding the telephone exchange opened fire against the militants of the Awami League, only killing two and injuring nine, while, the telephone exchange lost several of its innocent employees in the attack  $^{408}$ . The Mukti Bahini in their terrorist campaign in Comilla and Chittagong set a local train on fire. The telephone exchanges in both the cities were attacked, damaged, and closed down at various places.

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405 Ibid.
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<sup>406</sup> Ibid, p.5, 6.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid ,p.6, p.7

<sup>408</sup> Sarmila Bose. (2012). "Dead Reckoning", Oxford University Press. Karachi, p.30

#### 4th March 1971.

Incidents of lootings and arson took place in Dhanmadi and Nawabpur districts, including the looting of a firearms shop. In Khulna, the Pakistani flag was desecrated and a hand grenade was thrown in Deputy Commissioners' office. The railway tracks were damaged and passengers of derailed train were butchered. Before the Army could restore the government's authority, on the night of 3rd-4th March in Chittagong, the non-Bengali residents of different localities were attacked, murdered, and were burnt to death. Seven hundred houses were set on fire with such a speed and ferocity that the sleeping residents could not escape and those who did manage were killed or wounded by the terrorists of the Mukti Bahini. The Mukti Bahini killed three hundred people apart from the ones they scorched to death<sup>409</sup>.

## 5<sup>th</sup> March 1971.

The communication system between East and West Pakistan was brought down on the orders of Mujib. The telegraph and telephone employees were stopped from working, as a measure to achieve communication blackout with the world. Even the British Council was not spared by the violent students of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, however, arrival of the troops time saved the property from being burnt down410. In Khalispur and Daulatpur of Khulna, fifty seven people (probably non-Bengalis) were mercilessly killed and mutilated with *daos* (meat-cleavers), spears, and hand bombs. Various incidents of arson and loot were also reported in the Khulna town411.

#### 6th March 1971.

The jailbreak of the Central Prison of Dacca was executed by the terrorists of the Mukti Bahini, causing death of seven prisoners, the wounding of the employees including a sergeant, and six wardens. Three hundred and forty one (341) prisoners took advantage of the chaos of the ambush and escaped. Vocal agitation echoed throughout Dacca with processions chanting anti-state and racial slogans. The lawlessness continued with laboratories being raided for explosive chemicals to be used in Mukti Bahini's violent excursions.

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409 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.7
410 Ibid, p.7, 8
411 Samila Bose. (2012), "Dead Reckoning", Oxford University Press, Karachi., p.30
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An attack on the Polytechnic Institute was made unsuccessful by the Pakistan army<sup>412</sup>. In Khulna, the Rajendra College University Offices and the Training Corps came under a mob raid for the possession of ten rifles and fifteen bayonets. The firearms shopkeepers opened fire at a mob, attempting to loot one of them, killing and injuring seven<sup>413</sup>. The cases of stabbing, burning, looting and arson were continuously and widely reported. Reports of several houses and huts being forcefully emptied from their owners were rampant but without any reprimand from the authorities. The attackers used sniper rifles at various locations openly<sup>414</sup>. In Rajshahi, City Magistrate's office was set on fire as a glaring example of the prevailing misrule

## 7th March 1971.

On 7<sup>th</sup> March 1971, Mujib announced his program of parallel government consisting of secessionist directives. Numerous episodes of looting and arson of cars, jeeps, trucks and micro-buses <sup>415</sup>, occurred continuously without any respite for the innocent civilians. Radio Pakistan's building was attacked with explosives and orders were given to set-up Revolutionary Councils. As an act of ultimate disrespect the Pakistani national flag was desecrated and burnt at Bargana, Khulna.

#### 8th March 1971.

Processions and meetings of the Awami League and the Mukti Bahini were being held, with the directives issued from the high command to the workers. Alongside the firearms shops' lootings, licensed arms were also taken from the people. Under this lawlessness, people were left vulnerable and the only option left for their protection was to join the Mukti Bahini or the Pakistani side<sup>416</sup>.

### 9th March 1971.

Under Mujib's directives, '*No money shall leave East Pakistan*' was enforced in banks and checkpoints were setup in various parts of Dacca to make sure no holdings or assets in any form leave East Pakistan. The established checkpoints remained for many days and sometimes the purpose was to intimidate the non-Mujib supporters. Kenneth Clarke of London's *Daily Telegraph* reported that, '*Mujib brought the situation near to secession*' 417.

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^{412} Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers", p.8 ^{413} lbid. ^{414} lbid. ^{415} lbid, p.8, 9. ^{416} lbid,p.9.
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The residents of Rangpur and other localities were attacked by the Awami Leaguers, with a local train too coming under a vicious attack. The passengers of the train were physically harassed on political and racial basis, ringing anarchy bells for days to come. The new 'Bangladesh' flag was hoisted over the City Town Hall as a reminder of the secessionist dream<sup>418</sup>.

## 12th March 1971.

Disturbance was reported in the tea gardens of Comilla. Three hundred jail prisoners attempted an escape, on whom the police opened fire killing two and injuring eighteen. Five army ration trucks were stopped and looted at Brahmanbaria by an armed mob. There were successful jailbreaks in Bogra and Barisaf<sup>419</sup>.

Abdul Rashid, an employee of the East Bengal Railways at Parbatipur related that the train from Ishurdi was late for ten hours and when it arrived at the Parbatipur railway station, it had one hundred and seventy dead bodies. The passengers were intercepted en route to Parbatipur; an men women and children became victims of the Awami League militants. The merciless attackers stabbed the breastfeeding babies to death along with their mothers. There were seventy-five seriously injured victims who were shifted to the hospital420.

#### 13th March 1971.

At railway stations, passengers were harassed, interrogated and called *dalals* (pimps) of West Pakistan. The stolen chemicals were used in attacks on government buildings near Kakrail (Dacca)<sup>421</sup>. The 'Bangla Desh' flag was hoisted also at the Deputy Commissioner's office in Jessore, Khulna. In Comilla and Chittagong, the Awami leaguers protested outside the Jail for the release of jailed prisoners who had allegedly burned the national flag at Shamshemagar.

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417 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers", p.9, p.10
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## 14th March 1971.

Mujib issued new directives addressed to deputy commissioners and sub-officers to stop working.

#### 15th March 1971.

Mujib issued another directive that army pressure should not be accepted regarding the civil disobedience movement and taxes should be paid to the East Pakistani regime. The violence of 'non-violent and non-cooperation movement' kept increasing with people being harassed and humiliated on the basis of their racial and political backgrounds <sup>422</sup>. The army field unit was surrounded and attacked by an armed mob in Chittagong.

## 16th March 1971.

In Chittagong, firearms shops were met with the same fate being looted for its arms. The laboratory was raided and chemicals were taken away from the Mahraj High School in Natore, in Rangpur.

#### 17th March 1971.

Acids and stolen chemicals were used in attacks on government offices in Dacca. The power house, in Jessore and Khulna, came under attack and the electric supply was interrupted. Road blockades were erected for disrupting normalcy and creating chaos. The 5th March-attack survivors were threatened and twelve houses in Rangpur were attacked and burnt by the Awami League students.

## 18th March 1971.

The Central Government High School in Motijheel was raided and its laboratory's chemicals were looted. In Jessore, the attackers threw acid-bottles at the army personnel in a camp.

#### 19th March 1971.

An army vehicle came under ambush and six (6) occupants were abducted with their weapons.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid, p.11-12

## 20th March 1971.

According to *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, 'Mujib said, "*This is the final round*" and repeated the slogan "*Joy Shadin Bangla*" (Long Live independent Bengal) 423. In Bagerhat Town, according to **Qazi Anwar Hussain**, the Awami League militants were involved in the killings of non-Bengalis from the first week of March. The targets of the Awami League militants were not only the Biharis and the West Pakistanis but also the Bengali Muslim League members or proPakistan (at that time West Pakistan) Bengalis. He stated that the Awami League militants raided the house of the well-known Bengali Muslim Leaguer, Muhammad Qasim, taking valuable items and burning the house to ashes in his absence. These vicious Awami League volunteers and extremists discouraged Bengalis to provide shelter to non-Bengalis, and those not pledging acquiescence were killed along with the non-Bengalis. The terrorists mercilessly blocked the roads and highways impeding escape of the lucky or unlucky non-Bengalis left <sup>424</sup>. According to **Qazi Anwar Hussain**, five hundred innocent non-Bengalis and Bengalis were killed. In the Taranganj Colony, five hundred people were killed and four hundred remained missing, when the East Pakistan Rifles and the Awami League militants attacked the colony. The attack turned the houses into debris and the colony an adobe of dead bodies425.

From 20 th March to 10th April 1971, in Kushtia town, the East Pakistan Regiment (EPR) Rebels, Mujahids and the Awami League terrorists attacked the armed forces. The tyranny of killers accounted killings of one thousand to fifteen hundred (1000-1500) including army personnel  $^{426}$ . It can be comprehended from this that if the army personnel were rendered helpless in this carnage, the civilians never stood a chance.

#### 21st March 1971.

On 20/21 March, Indian arms and ammunitions were smuggled into East Pakistan into Satkhira (Khulna Division) and to Chittagong Division from India. There are reports of the same from Chittagong to Comilla<sup>427</sup>.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid,p.10

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Qutubuddin Aziz. (1974), "Blood and Tears", United Press of Pakistan Ltd., p.115

<sup>421</sup> Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.10-11

<sup>423</sup> Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.13

<sup>424</sup> Qutubuddin Aziz. (1974), "Blood and Tears", United Press of Pakistan Ltd., p.92-93

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^{425} Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers", p.24 ^{426} lbid, p.25
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#### 22nd March 1971.

The Indian arms smuggling was also reported in the tea gardens of Sylhet. The Awami League led violent rallies in Dinajpur against President Yahya Khan. In Sitarampur locality of Mymensingh, according to **Fahim Siddiqi** the Awami league militants stormed the locality with 'Loot, Burn and Kill the Menfolk'". **Fahim Siddiqi** lost his two brothers in the raid, surviving by hiding in the deserted building for days until the federal troops recaptured the locality<sup>428</sup>.

#### 23rd March 1971.

The 'Pakistan Day' was celebrated as 'Resistance Day', with numerous events of the desecration of the Pakistani national flag and its replacement with the 'Bangladesh' flag book place. The passengers at the Dacca airport were beaten up and ill-treated by an armed mob<sup>429</sup>. In Mirpur Khulna division, the situation became tense when the residents refused to hoist the 'Bangladesh' flag at their houses. Numerous cases of the abduction of West Pakistani businessmen for ransom were also reported. In Halishahar, Chittagong, according to **Fahmida Begum w/o Ghulam Nabi**, her family members, husband, three sons and a daughter, were slaughtered in front of her. She said that her husband became victim of a machine gunfire of an armed Bengali gang (Mukti Bahini). Her three sons were beheaded and their decapitated heads were kicked around like football, her daughter was bayoneted to death while she was a reluctant audience to these heart-wrenching sights.

From 23<sup>rd</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> March 1971, in Khalispur Khulna, according to A. S. Saifullah, the Awami League miscreants and terrorists were on a killing rampage, resembling mad elephants, of the non-Bengalis. The hundreds of non-Bengalis of the locality were taken to the Crescent Jute Mill, where the terrorists had built a slaughterhouse for their murder. This slaughterhouse witnessed the medieval torture of the gouging of the eyes of the Non-Bengali victims<sup>430</sup>. In Sirajganj, the Awami League militants took non-Bengalis – men, women, and children – in a building, setting it on fire and ensuring the survival of no one<sup>431</sup>.

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\frac{427}{1}lbid, p.13 \frac{428}{1}lbid, p.188 \frac{429}{1}lbid, p.14 \frac{430}{1} Qutubuddin Aziz. (1974). "Blood and Tears". United Press of Pakistan Ltd., p.88
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#### 24th March 1971.

As another propaganda technique, pamphlets were distributed among the people calling for an armed resistance. In the pamphlets, instructions were given to resist the army through any means possible: block the roads, bridges and rail-links; keep yourselves armed with weapons and bombs432. In Dacca University, according to **Mohammed Hanif**, Bengali students kidnapped non-Bengalis for ransom; those who failed to provide ransom were tortured and beheaded. **Mohammed Hanif** himself was abducted and made to write a letter to his family for ransom of Rs. 3000. The federal troops came into action for his release on the night of 25<sup>th</sup> March and he was saved before his deadline of 26<sup>th</sup> March for ransom expired<sup>433</sup>.

## 25th March 1971.

The bomb factory came in existence on the Dacca University campus – Jagannath Hall and Iqbal Hall – to manufacture acid bombs on a large scale. Likewise the Engineering College established its own set-up to produce acid bombs. To further paralyze the city barriers were set up all over Dacca. The miscreant ex-Colonel Osmani took the charge as the Commander of 'the Revolutionary Forces' and erected blockades on the roads of the Chittagong Port to hinder army transport of personnel and arms. As an endeavour to disrupt the traffic flow, the roads were damaged by digging holes; similarly, roadblocks were created with carts, lorries, and trucks<sup>434</sup>.

In Rangpur, fifty houses were burnt by an armed mob of eight thousand people equipped with sticks, rifles, shotguns, and knives. In another incident, three people were killed and seventeen were injured, of these seven were wounded by shotguns while two were hit by the bullets of other guns. The army troops came on the scene to disperse the violent crowd and necessarily opened fire injuring three people. An attack on army personnel in Saidpur from shotguns caused retaliation and five people were injured 435. In Saidpur, a post office van was attacked; the conductor was killed and the driver sustained serious injuries.

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431 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.26
432 Ibid p.14
433 Ibid, p.25-26
434 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.15
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According to the witness, **Noor Jahan w/o Abdur Rashid**, her husband was shot dead in the attack on their house. Men were shot dead while women were made prisoners and taken to another village. She said that more than two-hundred and fifty Pathans — men, women and children were killed. The sadistic Awami League terrorists would slice flesh from the Pathan victim' body, rubbing the wound with dust continuously till the victim lost consciousness or life. The abducted women were raped every night and those who resisted were killed, their bodies were torn into pieces while their breasts amputated and 'Joi Bangla' was carved on their foreheads. She along with other victims was rescued by the Pakistan Army on  $10^{th}$  April<sup>436</sup>.

The areas where army could not do a rapid action, people found themselves trapped with Mukti Bahinis and the undisposed dead bodies of their loved ones. People were trapped for days and weeks in their burnt houses, in bushes, water tanks, and any place they could find to hide, helplessly witnessing the rotting of their unburied loved ones. Those who did give a burial were helped by the Pakistani army (federal troops). The merciless killings, massacre, rapes, and tortures were meted out to unarmed and defenceless people who were only guilty of being non-Bengalis.

## 30th March 1971.

In Pachchum Tengri of Ishurdi, three thousand armed Mukti Bahini raided the locality. According to **Ainul Haque**, the Awami League militants, dissidents of the East Pakistan Rifles and the Ansars killed 90 per cent of the population of the non-Bengalis. His whole family was among those butchered in this pogrom. On 11<sup>th</sup> April 1971, federal troops entered in the locality when it had already become a 'ghost colony'. He was helped with the burial of his family and shifted to Ishurdi hospital to recover<sup>437</sup>.

In Chittagong around 10,000-12,000 people were killed. A

mutiny took place in the East Bengal Regiment (EBR) and the East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) and they slaughtered innocent men, women and children with their service weaponry. One of the most horrifying acts committed was the 'syringe massacre', in which the victim's blood was drained through syringes till death gained mercy, deriving sadistic pleasure for the killers. The terrorists practiced equality in killing

innocent men, women, and children to satisfy the evil within438. In Chuadanga from 26th March to 1st of April 1971, five hundred people were killed, while a hundred people went missing. The terrorists killed Biharis and West Pakistanis, gathering them together, without prejudice. A West Pakistani SDO was tortured and his pregnant wife was badly beaten<sup>439</sup>. In Naogaon and Santahar from

without prejudice. A West Pakistani SDO was tortured and his pregnant wife was badly beaten<sup>439</sup>. In Naogaon and Santahar from 26<sup>th</sup> March to 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1971, around fifteen thousand people were annihilated. The Awami league militants blocked the movement of the Bihari people. The banks of the localities were looted<sup>440</sup>. The women were separated from their male family members, raped and paraded naked in the street to be killed when the abusers got bored or found new victims to replace them. Their male relatives were killed, sparing them the ordeal of watching their women being dishonoured. The dead bodies were scattered all over the area, turning human dwellings in open graveyards<sup>441</sup>. The other torture tactics used in the locality were burning to death, nailing, or being shot to death. Even the devil must have shuddered when the mothers were forced to drink their children's blood at gunpoint442.

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435 Ibid, p.15
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436 Qutubuddin Aziz. (1974), "Blood and Tears", United Press of Pakistan Ltd., p.98-99

## Between 26th March and 23rd April 1971

Two thousand people were killed during this hellish period. The Awami League terrorists and liberated criminals were roaming around and were not willing to leave a single non-Bengali alive. The Pakistan Army action in the district saved the lives of seven thousand people – men, women, and children were brought and lodged inside a jail for protection. The unrelenting killers had planted dynamites and were planning to blow up the jail, but the Pakistan Army didn't allow them to succeed. The survivors narrated heinous acts of murder, rape, loot and arson against the non-Bengalis<sup>443</sup>.

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438 Extract From Dacca Gazette [August To December 1971] Gazette Page No. 771
439 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.25
440 Ibid, p.26
441 Extract From Dacca Gazette [August To December 1971] Gazette Page No. 653
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In Shankipara of Mymensingh, according to **Sheikh Habibullah**, his family members were murdered, house was looted and he could not even think of giving a burial to his family in the midst of the madness surrounding the locality. He said that, 'except for a few aged stragglers like myself, all traces of human habitation had vanished from these once thriving colonies (Chalisbari, Chattisbari, Islamabad and Ikya)'. Young women of locality attempted suicide to save themselves from the shameful fate of becoming sex slaves. One hundred and seventy-five non-Bengalis were murdered inside a mosque — where they gathered in a vain attempt to save themselves from the frenzied mob. Three hundred non-Bengalis were killed in a primary school where they had taken refuge. A Bengali, pesh imam — prayer leader — had saved lives of five hundred Biharis from the inhuman mutineers. He also came to know about the fate of West Pakistani personnel and their families, who were butchered in the night of  $25^{th}$  / $26^{th}$  March by the mutineers' of the East Bengal Regiment<sup>444</sup>.

## 27th March 1971

In Mymensingh Cantonment, West Pakistani army men were killed. When East Bengal Regiment (EBR) and East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) mutinied, they had not just left their barracks to join the ranks of the Mukti Bahini but to anyone's astonishment they started massacring their West Pakistani colleagues, in barracks and in residential quarters445. The Army men from West Pakistan were murdered in cold blood in their sleep 446. At Hafiz Jute Mills, between 27th and 28th March, one hundred and fifty people were burnt alive. However, only the minor children were able to escape from this dreadful fate 447.

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443 lbid, p.26
444 lbid, p.185-187
445 lbid, p.28
446 Qutubuddin Aziz (1974), "Blood and Tears", United Press of Pakistan Ltd., p.187
447 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". P.23
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## 28th - 29<sup>th</sup> March 1971

In various localities of Khulna Town, Crescent Jute Mills, Khalispur, Star Jute Mills, and Chandi Mahal, around five thousand people were killed. The massacre was unleashed on the 'dalals' (pimps) of West Pakistan by the trained Awami League terrorists. The houses were destroyed and men, women, and children – were murdered448 . The victims were tortured and then guillotined. The

men, adult or male children were mostly treated with the 'shoot at sight', while the women and children were meted out the treatment of being 'dragged on the roads'. The killers were so obsessed with killing that for the surety of death they would throw the victims in rivers, and the unfortunate ones retaining some breath were dragged out for their stomachs to be slit as punishment for not dying soon enough. The dissected victims were thrown back into the river with their blood tainting the water red<sup>449</sup>.

In Dinajpur Town from 28<sup>th</sup> March to 1<sup>st</sup> April 1971, around five thousand people were killed. One of the most barbaric bloodbaths occurred here. Those few, who survived luckily, were old women and children. Those who died in the attack were beheaded and the heads were hung on tree tops. The abducted girls were taken to India for a life worse than death.

In Thakurgaon, around three thousand people were killed. The East Bengal Regiment (EBR) attacked the Bihari people. The aim was not anything less than ethnic cleansing of the Bihari people. The women were raped; young ones were abducted while the pregnant and older women were murdered. The pregnant women were not shot dead but viciously bayoneted to death. Wombs were tom apart and the unborn babies were cut into pieces. The raped and killed women's naked bodies were dragged in streets for a show animals were too human to watch.

#### 29th - 30th March 1971

In Jhumjhumpur Colony, around three thousand people lost their lives while two thousand people were kidnapped and to this day remained missing. The East Pakistan Regiment (EPR) was on a killing frenzy sparing only the Bengalis. The general criterion for such massacre was to attack colonies and localities where non-Bengali inhabitants were residing. The East Pakistan Rifles kidnapped women and children and dragged towards the river. The river route was mostly used for smuggling, utilized by the Indians in building a naval force for the Mukti Bahini. The attackers took 400 - 500 women to India450 . From 29th March -10th April 1971, in Kushtia town, the East Pakistan Regiment (EPR) Rebels, Mujahids and the Awami League terrorists attacked the armed forces. The tyranny of the killers accounted for the deaths of 1000 - 1500, including army men451.

448 Extract From Dacca Gazette [August To December 1971] Gazette Page No. 697 449 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.25

## 30th March 1971

In Taranganj Colony, five hundred people were killed and four hundred remained missing. The EPR and Awami League militants attacked the colony, burning houses decorated with the dead  $^{452}$ .

According to Saida Khatoon wo Zafar Alam Malik living in Thanapara, Kushtia, the terrorists of the Awami League took away non-Bengali men on gunpoint to the Kushtia Jail. She was later informed that her husband was killed along with other non-Bengalis. The naked dead bodies were found with cigarette marks on them. The non-Bengali women were abducted to unknown places and the pregnant women with their unborn babies were mutilated to death in the most barbaric way. The Bengali terrorists would force nonBengalis to donate blood for their injured rebel fellows; the donor was promised his safe release; unfortunately, which was never the case453.

In another account, of **Rasoolan w/o Mohammed Shakoor**, the Awami League terrorists attacked their locality and took away hundreds of non-Bengali men. All of the non-Bengali men were killed in Kushtia Jail before the federal troops recaptured the locality. The Bengali shopkeeper had erected sign boards, stating that, 'Don't sell food to the Biharis'. She and her remaining family – her mother and three children – had to drink water for days to remain alive. And second attack on her house forced her to live in fields for many days until the federal forces arrived<sup>454</sup>.

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450 Ibid, p.24
451 Ibid, p.25
452 Ibid, p.24
453 Qutubuddin Aziz (1974). "Blood and Tears". United P Qutubuddin Aziz (1974). "Blood and Tears". United P
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# 4th April 1971

In Sylhet district the situation remained far better than other districts; it can be attributed to its low Bengali population. The deaths reported from Sylhet in March 1971, were five hundred. According to **Mrs Wahida Khatoon**, her son and daughter-in-law were killed in front of her and she received a bullet injury on her skull. 'The killers said they were shooting us because we did not belong to Bengal and because Urdu was our mother tongue. They looted our house.......' 455

## 10th April 1971

In Paksey, two thousand people were deceitfully murdered. The railway colony residents were called to a meeting to form a Peace Committee of Bengalis and Non-Bengalis. The people, who did attend the meeting in the High School building, were locked inside and the school was set on fire; resulting in the death of all entrapped people (most probably all non-Bengalis) $^{456}$ .

The killers of non-Bengalis were using different tactics to get non-Bengalis to a single place; call of meetings, calling them at government officials' offices, making peace committees and gathering them in schools, jails and mosques, with promises that they would be safe.

#### 23rd April 1971

In Afar Kandy, five hundred people were killed. Bihari-populated colonies were attacked, looted properties were set on fire and every non-Bengali was put to death. The men were killed on sight while women were ravished and later killed. The atrocious rapists and killers had mercilessly mutilated the bodies of their female victims; bodies were in pieces, breasts were sliced off and their wombs were slit open. The delirious killers ravished the women, slicing their breasts off when they had some breath left in them<sup>457</sup>.

Prominent Mukti Bahini Terrorists

The Mukti Bahini fighters, supporters, and sympathizers' list had been provided by the Dacca Gazette of August to December 1971. 455 Ibid, p.142 456 Government of Pakistan. (1971). "White Papers". p.27

The Gazette list had clearly stated the culprits and their involvement in crimes against the state. Only a few culprits are listed below. A detailed list is given in the Annexures-11, 12 & 13.

#### Advocate Mustafa Ali s/o Haji Moab Ali

The Mukti Bahini supporter from Sylhet had been involved in the loot of 516 rifles from Habitant and its handing over to the Mukti Bahini in India. He was also involved in raids on government properties; on  $21^{st}$  April, 1971, he had looted Rs. 1.44 crore from the National Bank of Pakistan<sup>458</sup>.

## Muhammad Siddique Hussain s/o Khayer-uddin

An elected MPA from Rangpur, was involved in the crimes of loot and arson. On 3rd March 1971, he organized plundering and burning of shops and houses in his non-Bengali locality. He had organized village councils to resist the army and also led an attack on the Rangpur Cantonment, on 28th March 1971459.

### M. Abdur Rahim s/o Ismail Sarkar

An elected MPA from District Dinajpur, made regular tours of India and was also involved in collecting arms and ammunitions for secessionists. He was also involved in the kidnappings of proPakistanis $^{460}$ .

## Advocate Muhammad Nurul Islam

An elected MPA from Jessore had organized gangs for the pillage of properties in Jessore Sadar area. He supported secessionists' activities and helped volunteers in looting guns from police stations 461.

#### Muhammad Sirajul Islam s/o Habibur Rehman

An elected MPA from Dacca had organized mobs to block roads and parts of the city to hamper the movement of troops. Besides, they terrorized other localities 462.

#### Mohiuddin Ahmed s/o Ramizuddin Ahmad

An elected MPA from Bakergang had forcefully deprived people of their precious possessions, mostly money, gold ornaments, etc. The Barisal police armoury attack and loot was also organized by him. In District Bakerganj he had organized mob gangs to disrupt the law and order situation and also to loot  $nonlocals^{463}$ .

## Showgatul Alam s/o Moslemuddin Ahmed

An elected MPA from Bakergang had actively been involved in organizing activities against the federal troops, in Barisal region<sup>464</sup>.

#### Abdul Aziz Khondker s/o Mobarak Ali

An elected MPA of Patuakhali, had desecrated the national flag, was involved in anti-state activities and disrupted the law and order situation to overthrow the authority of Pakistan465 . **Basid Siddiki** 

An elected MPA of Tangail had taken up arms against state troops in the Ghatail forest area and was terrorizing civilians  $^{466}$ . Md Insan Ali Mukhtiar s/o Adaruddin Sarker

An elected MPA of Tangail had been organizing rebels in Char, District Pabna to resist the army and other Law enforcement agencies467.

**Jamaluddin Chowdhury s/o Kazimuddin Chowdhury** A resident of village Kazirbag, District Dacca, and elected MPA, was organizing resistance groups in MunshiGanj, against the army, in months of March and April. These organized groups were also involved in the plunder of shops and houses of proPakistanis<sup>468</sup>.

## Hamidur Rahman s/o Haji Md Musa

A resident of village Doleswar of District Dacca, an elected MPA, had organized groups to resist army movements and supervised attacks on non-locals and non-conforming citizens in different localities 469.

## Hedayatul Islam s/o Haji Momrej Khan

A resident of Tejgaon, District Dacca, an elected MPA, had been involved in inciting agitation against non-locals and nonconforming citizens. Under his supervision factories and mills were closed down and burnt in Tejgaon<sup>470</sup>.

### Abdul Hakim Master s/o Hazi Omar Ali

A resident of village Kakil, District Dacca, an elected MPA, had organized rebels and mob groups to fulfill Mujib's sadistic demands. In March 1971, factories were closed down causing economic unrest and movements of railway trains were disrupted from time to time. Organized rebels and terrorists had to fight the army when it arrived to rescue the civilians in the area<sup>471</sup>. **Muhammad Sajid Ali Mukhtear s/o Mia Abdul Dalal** A resident of village Fulbaria, District Dacca and Afzal Hossain s/o Haji Mozaaffar Ali Mian, resident of Narayanganj, both elected MPAs, had organized mob gangs in their respective areas to resist the army and for committing loot and arson. The blockades were erected on roads and different parts of the city472. **Businessman Abdul Wahab s/o Haji Khalilur Rahman** A resident of village Maizpati, District Chittagong, an elected MPA, had been involved in organizing rebels and disrupting the law and order situation. He incited EBR and EPR personnel in Chittagong to defect and join the rebels<sup>473</sup>.

Muhammad Rashed Mosharrah s/o Mosharaf Hossain A resident of village Teghoria, District Mymensingh, an elected MPA, had been engaged in sabotaging activities against the state and had been collaborating with Major Khalid Mosharraf<sup>474</sup>. Kudrat ullah Mondal s/o Samiruddin Mondal A resident of Mohakhali, District Mymensingh, an elected MPA, had close collaboration with the Mukti Bahini. The infiltrations of rebels from Indian borders near Haluaghat, District Mymensingh, had been taking place under his supervision475. Shamsul Haque s/o Samiruddin Ahmed

A resident of District Mymensingh, an elected MPA, had organized mob gangs and rebels. The Mymensingh Police armoury had been attacked under his command and looted arms were handed over to the rebels $^{476}$ .

**Abdur Rais s/o Haji Md. Asmat Sholaghar Hasannagar** A resident of Sunamganj, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, had organized rebels and mob gangs. The organized groups had raided the Sunamganj Thana and the arms were handed over to terrorists. The terrorists had attacked the jail and set free the criminals. He had been involved in other anti- state and seditious activities<sup>477</sup>.

## Shamsu Mia Chowdhury s/o Moyana Mia

A resident of village Bagpari, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, had organized rebels. The rebels were organized to resist the army in Chhattak and for loot and arson478

Muhammad Abdul Zahur s/o Md. Thakurdhan Mia A resident of village Binnaguri, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, took over the local government administration – Mujib's instructions to run a parallel government. Abdul Zahur had been collaborating with rebels against the army. Under his guidance, antistate and seditious activities had taken place to disrupt peace operations of the army to restore government authority<sup>479</sup>. Masud Ahmed Chowdhury s/o Abdus Samad Chowdhury A resident of village Rankeli, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, took over the local government administration and became a self-declared SDO of the subdivision. The food and grain godowns were looted. The infiltrators from India were helped to fight federal troops in April 1971<sup>480</sup>. Taymus Ali s/o Haji Mojor Ali

A resident of village Bhabanipur, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, became a self-declared SDO of the Maulvi Bazar subdivision and overtook control of local government. He had participated in the loot of Rs. 2.74 crores (27.4 million) from the National Bank of Pakistan. The looted vehicles, machinery, food grains, and money were sent to India. He had an active role in anti-state and seditious activities in East Pakistan's district, Sylhet<sup>481</sup>.

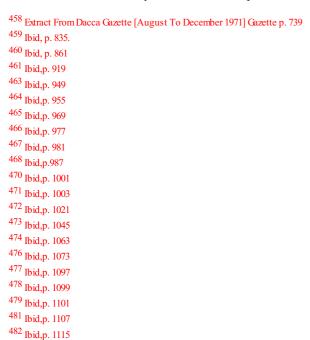
## Azizur Rahman s/o Abdus Sattar

<sup>483</sup> Ibid,p. 1117

A resident of village Gujarai, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, had collaborated in a jailbreak releasing 132 prisoners from Maulvi Bazar Sub-Jail in April 1971. He took part in a loot raid on National Bank of Pakistan and took away Rs. 2.74 crores (Rs 27.4 million). The loot was handed over to terrorists in India, to carry out anti-state and seditious activities in East Pakistan<sup>482</sup>. **Enamul Hoque s/o Abdul Hoque** 

A resident of Habiganj town committee, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, accompanied by Mostafa Ali MNA (NE-120) and mob gang, took away 516 rifles and 17,388 ammunition rounds from the Habiganj Armoury. He took part in the National Bank of Pakistan looting in which terrorists took away Rs 1.44 crores (Rs 14.4 million). The amount was sent to India to finance the anti-state and seditious activities<sup>483</sup>.

**Gopal Chrishna Maharatna s/o Hore Krishna Maharatna** A resident of village Rupraj Karpara, District Sylhet, an elected MPA, had been involved in the collection of sums of money from loots and checkpoints. The extorted money had been collected for anti-state and seditious activities.484

























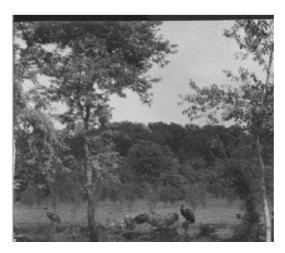




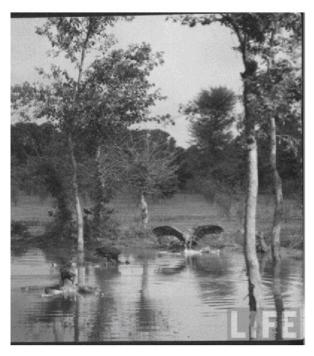








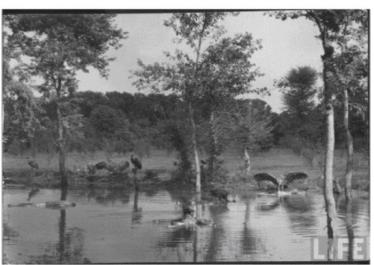
























POST - DISMEMBERMENT Introduction

Hopes of unity were still alive when General Niazi was signing the surrender document on the fateful day of  $16^{\rm th}$  December 1971. Despite her military failure, Pakistan was still united on the basis of *Laa Ilaaha* which always remained the ultimate bond between the both wings of Pakistan. Nevertheless, the pessimistic and opportunist political leaders in West Pakistan considered the military's defeat as the decisive end of Pakistan's unity and started to consolidate their own political positions. Bhutto, who became the president after December 1971, was shrewd enough to exploit the prevailing conditions and position himself in the driving seat. He astutely replaced President Yahya, released Mujib on  $8_{\rm th}$  January 1972 and thus secured his regime from all possible hurdles. Pakistan was not bifurcated on  $16^{\rm th}$  December 1971, in fact the surrender in East Pakistan, was only a military defeat. East Pakistan was actually lost when we politically surrendered and withdrew from our struggle for united Pakistan. Thus in December 1971, we did not only lay down our arms but we also surrendered Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's struggle. In addition to this, the recognition of Bangladesh by Bhutto on  $22^{\rm nd}$  February 1974 was the final nail in the coffin of united Pakistan.

On the other hand, in East Pakistan the indoctrinated dream of *Amar Sonar Bangla* was the rallying cry of the masses. The Indianbacked terrorists of the Awami League and Mukti Bahini had promised a 'utopian state' for Bengalis, where the streams of milk and honey would flow. They made the naïve Bengalis believe that once Bangladesh is created, their problems would vanish in no time. Neither would anybody be poor, nor would anybody be deprived of his/her basic rights, thus Bangladesh would transform the fate of poor Bengalis. Further, fancy and attractive slogans of democracy, secularism, and socialism were used to mesmerize the educated youth. Underlying all promises was the guaranteed prosperity of East Pakistan after its separation from West Pakistan. All these high claims remain unrealized, even though Bangladesh has been in existence for over four decades. It was the immediate rule of the Awami league which exposed its intentions. Hundreds and thousands of non-Bengalis were killed, starved, and raped. Instead of the promised streams of milk and honey, the streams of blood of the non-Bengalis flowed.

The Golden Bengal promised by Mujib did not glitter, but in actuality was rusted copper. Since, the autocratic rule of Mujib, the innocent Bengalis have not yet seen the prosperity which they were promised. Soon after Bangladesh's creation, Mujib predicted that rice, the staple diet of Bengalis, would be sold at half the price than in Pakistan but in 1975, the prices in Bangladesh were ten times higher than in Pakistan<sup>485</sup>.

This chapter would investigate how East Pakistan was lost politically after Pakistan's military surrender. Further, it would give a detailed account of the political history of Bangladesh and would endeavour to unearth the conspiracy of the deception of the innocent Bengalis in the name of prosperity. Further, the Indian interference since the creation of Bangladesh would also be discussed to expose, how the Indian establishment used the humanitarian shield to create a

vassal state in her neighbourhood in pursuance of her desire for Pakistan's dismemberment.

#### Post-Dismemberment & Bhutto

Bhut to's role in the bifurcation of Pakistan has always remained controversial. From his slogan of 'udhar tum, idhar hum' (you there and we here) to his recognition of Bangladesh in 1974, Bhutto's policies toward East Pakistan and then Bangladesh had remained questionable. His polices were based on his personal power interests. Before the creation of Bangladesh, he remained critical of Bengalis and political parties of East Pakistan but took a U-turn after the creation of Bangladesh. Bhutto was reluctant to hand over power to the majority party, the Awami League, after the election of 1970, but his desire to recognize Bangladesh after assuming power in 1971 is a contradiction to his earlier actions. Such fluctuating polices demonstrate, that Bhutto's foremost interest was to consolidate his own power base and to legitimize his rule.

<sup>485</sup> Lifshultz, Lawrence, Bangladesh, The Unfinished Resolution, Zed press, London, 1979, p.6. *Power Politics* 

After the military surrender on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1971, the central government in West Pakistan under President Yahya lost its legitimacy. The demoralized President transferred power to Bhutto, the Chairman of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which had remained victorious in the general elections of 1970 in West Pakistan. Bhutto assumed the presidential charge on 20th December 1971, in addition to it; he also assumed the powers of Chief Martial Law Administrator. Soon after assuming power, he adopted policies to consolidate his position. All hurdles were to be eliminated for guaranteeing a stable government under his leadership. These main hurdles were President Yayha and Mujib of East Pakistan.

Bhutto's first prey was ex-President Yahya Khan, as he did not want any sort of interference from him in his regime. Therefore, he sidelined Yahya Khan by putting him under house arrest. Yahya Khan in an interview with Munir Ahmed remarked, 'Bhutto has placed me under house arrest and I am not allowed to meet press, neither can I issue any statement and I am banned for taking any direct and indirect part in politics' 486. After getting rid of Yahya Khan, he strengthened his position in West Pakistan.

Releases Mujib

The Mujib-led Awami League organized agitation and political chaos after Yahya's postponement of the scheduled meeting of the National Assembly on  $1_{\rm St}$  March 1971, as stated earlier in the previous chapters. The demonstrations and armed agitation resulted in a total chaos in East Pakistan. In the course of  $2_{\rm nd}$  to  $26_{\rm th}$  March 1971, the terrorists of the Awami League and Mukti Bahini were involved in killing, looting, burning, ambushing, and molestation of non-Bengalis. According to one report, one-hundred thousand were killed, burnt, and raped between  $2^{\rm nd}$  and  $26^{\rm th}$  March  $4^{\rm 87}$ . Following the anarchy organized under the orders of Mujib, the central government under President Yahya called for military action to restore law and order. Consequently, Mujib was arrested at 01.30 hours on  $26_{\rm th}$  March 1971 from his Dhanmandi residence in Dacca488.

486 Translated form, Munir, Munir Ahmed, Almiy-a-Mashriki Pakistan; Paanch Kirdard, Aatish-phisha Publications Lahore, 1976, p. 47.

After taking over the reins of power from President Yahya Khan, Bhutto released the man who ordered the spread of chaos that had paralyzed the Eastern Wing of Pakistan, and the man who was arrested for traitorous charges. In his interview with *TIME Magazine* correspondent Dan Cogging in January 1972, Bhutto remarked, '*I plan to release him unconditionally in a couple of days, with hope and faith that the fire of Pakistan still burns in his heart He will be free to go. I am not extracting any promise from him. I'm not talking to him under duress, but between elected leaders of the two parts of Pakistan' <sup>489</sup>. Nevertheless, Bhutto's foremost intention behind releasing Mujib was to get rid of any possible threat to his regime. He knew that Mujib had the majority in the National Assembly and if any sort of compromise was reached between East and West Pakistan, his powers would be shared. Blinded by his greed for power, the so-called Quaid-e-Awam was hitting the final nail in the coffin of Jinnah's united Pakistan.* 

Bhutto was well aware that after Mujib's release, he would not be able to bargain with him from any position of strength. Symbolically, it was presented that Bhutto has entered in a deal with Mujib under which, Mujib had agreed on having a united government. Sultan Mohammad Khan (former foreign Secretary) in his book *Memories and Reflections' of a Pakistan Diplomat* narrates that he had heard a secret tape recording of the meeting between Bhutto and Mujib. According to Sultan Mohammad, Mujib said, 'You [Bhutto] and I, my brother, must work closely to resolve all problems, and he [Mujib] swore on Qur'an that he would keep his promise. Mujib was hysterical at times, saying I have excelled Fazul Haq and Suhrawardy, demanding Yahya Khan's trial, and promising that as soon as he got rid of the Indians, he would propose a united government of East and West Pakistan with defence, foreign affairs and currency held in common' <sup>490</sup>.

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487 Khan, Fazal Muqeem, Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership, National Book Foundation,
1973, p. 33.
488 Ibid, p. 72.
489 Interview by Dan Coggin, The World: Bhutto: The Voice of Pakistan, Time, 10<sup>th</sup> January, 1972.
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Such an agreement was rejected by Mujib after his arrival in Dacca. In an interview with the prominent Indian Journalist Kuldip Nayar, Mujib stated that 'He [Bhutto] wanted me to agree that the three subjects -- foreign affairs, defense, and communication -- would be managed jointly by Pakistan and Bangladesh. I told him it was not possible, but when he went on pressing I said that it was difficult for me to decide anything without consulting my people. There was yet another meeting, the last one between us. That time too he pressed for the same thing and asked me to try my best. I replied: "Let me see". <sup>491</sup> In the same interview Mujib clearly states that, 'He [Bhutto] really wanted the eastern wing to go its own way so that he could become the president of what was left of Pakistan' <sup>492</sup>. Bhutto's defenders often misguide the populace by arguing that Bhutto was compelled to release Mujib because of the mounting international pressure. Here it is vital to understand that China vigorously supported Pakistan's stance. To illustrate, China was all along vetoing Bangladesh's entry in the United Nations. With such a support in an international organization, it was entirely possible for Pakistan to have surmounted any diplomatic pressure possibly from India and its allies.

Bhutto wanted otherwise as stated by Mujib in the above interview, which elucidates that Bhutto's intentions behind releasing Mujib were to get rid of the East Pakistan conundrum once and for all. The general masses in Pakistan, specially the youth, had not accepted the creation of Bangladesh and started a movement to reject Bangladesh. This movement was known as *Bangladesh Na-Manzoor Tehreek* (Bangladesh Non-recognition Movement). The movement was a countrywide demonstration of the true sentiment of the masses. Threatened by the growing agitation by the masses under the Bangladesh

non-recognition movement, Bhutto tactically created the Sindhi-Urdu language controversy by passing the Sindhi Language Bill in Sindh Assembly in July 1972. This controversy was a deliberate effort by Bhutto's regime to deviate the masses from the *Bangladesh Na-Manzoor Tehrek*. Did Bhutto not know that the Bengalis had actually started to become unhappy when Urdu was introduced as the national language of Pakistan? He attempted to create a serious controversy by introducing the Sindhi Language Bill at a time when the Pakistani nation could not afford any controversy. But he, perhaps needed such controversies and issues to divert the attention of the public from Bangladesh.

490 Khan, Sultan Mohammad, Memories & Reflections' of a Pakistani Diplomat, Paramount Enterprise Karachi, 2006, p. 406.

491 See, *In their words: Bhutto and Mujib, December, 1971*, Daily Star November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014 (http://www.thedailystar.net/in-their-words-bhutto-and-mujib-december-1971-50468) accessed on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

Recognizes Bangladesh

The final blow to Jinnah's united Pakistan came on 22 nd February 1974 when Bhutto representing Pakistan in OIC's (Organization of Islamic Conference) summit recognized Bangladesh. Bhutto, the then Premier of Pakistan was shrewd enough to create and exploit any given opportunity. After diverting the masses internally by launching the Sindhi-Urdu language controversy it was now time to offer full recognition to Bangladesh internationally. Soon after assuming power, Bhutto toured most of the Muslim states and tried to convince them not to recognize Bangladesh, including Iran, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and many other states 493. In most of his tours he convinced the leaders of these countries not to recognize Bangladesh. The self- contradicting policies of Bhutto can be observed that initially he toured the above states to not to recognize Bangladesh but after two years he himself organized the Summit Conference of the Head of States of the OIC in Lahore and recognized Bangladesh. He astutely used the presence of the Heads of States of the Islamic countries as the opportune movement to achieve this.

Here, it is important to understand that initially to gather public support for consolidating his power, Bhutto represented the popular sentiment for non-recognition of Bangladesh. But, after eliminating all the possible threats to his government he recognized Bangladesh. Such a move also uplifted his personal position on the international political scene, confirming him as an able leader of Pakistan. He chose the ceremony of OIC Summit Conference organized in Lahore to recognize Bangladesh to avoid any agitation and chaos by the general masses. Thus, the hopes of a united Pakistan perished after the recognition with the *Bangladesh Na-Manzoor Tehreek*. The struggle of Jinnah, dream of Iqbal, blood of hundreds and thousands of Muslims and specifically, the resolution of Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq (The Tiger of Bengal) were buried for good. Pakistan accepted defeat from the Indian and Bengali machinations, failing to safeguard Jinnah's united Pakistan.

<sup>493</sup> Yunus, Mohammed, Bhutto and the Breakup of Pakistan, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.52.

Albeit, Bangladesh has been a reality for over four decades but the wounds of this split are still fresh. History would never forgive individuals like Bhutto, Niazi, Yahya, and Mujib who compromised the national and public interest for their own.

### Recognition of Bangladesh

The case for the recognition of Bangladesh greatly depended on the diplomatic ties of countries within the Pakistani and Indian bloc. Till September 1973, more than 100 countries had recognized Bangladesh thus leaving a weaker Pakistani bloc opposing its recognition. The superpowers, Soviet Union and United States of America, recognized Bangladesh in early 1972. The Pakistani leadership, depending on its diplomatic ties declared that its diplomatic ties would cease with any country that would recognize Bangladesh. The declaration resulted in the end of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Burma, and some other countries. Pakistan showed no hesitation in ending ties with the small states but United States and the European Economic Community countries made it more difficult, bereft of a choice Pakistan had to swallow the bitter pill of abandoning its declaration. Another declaration by Pakistan was that Commonwealth membership should not be given to Bangladesh, otherwise, Pakistan would give up her membership. And, unfortunately, Pakistan had to lose her membership abiding by her declaration; Bangladesh became the member of the Commonwealth on 18 April 1972. Bangladesh opened a mission in Cairo, Egypt without its recognition, which was a hint for Pakistan that Egypt, will not delay the recognition any longer. Preceding this in Algiers, diring the Non-Aligned Summit of September 1973, seventy- six states nearly two-thirds of the UN members proposed for the immediate recognition of Bangladesh. Bangladesh was able to convince so many countries for its recognition because it was constantly sending envoys, as Historian Dr. A. R. Mallick was sent to Algiers in June 1973, and to different countries to counter the prevalent propaganda that 'Bangladesh was a creation of India' 494. Bangladesh was invited to the Non-Aligned Summit that provided Mujib an opportunity to meet King Faisal, President Assad of Syria, President of Algier, Libyan leader Gaddafi and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. In October 1973, the Bangladeshi government sent tea as a military aid to the Egyptian army in Benghazi, and a medical team for the Syrian army in Beirut. Egypt and Syria did not hesitate to recognize a country showing ready support for them in the war, as Bangladesh was also one of the first countries to show solidarity as early as the news of the 1973 Arab-Israel war reached Dacca. The Egyptian and Syrian recognition was followed by the Kuwaiti and Jordanian recognition.

Pakistan recognized Bangladesh on  $22^{nd}$  February 1974, at the Islamic Summit it was hosting in Lahore, and on the same day after Pakistan, Iran and Turkey also extended their recognition to Bangladesh. Later United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, and Libya also recognized Bangladesh. The prominent recognition within Pakistan bloc came, first from Pakistan on  $22^{nd}$  February 1974 then on  $15^{th}$  August 1975 after China and Saudi Arabia recognized Bangladesh after the death of the pro-Indo-Soviet and non-Islamic bloc. The following table shows a list of countries who had recognized Bangladesh495.

## Table 1 List of Few Countries recognizing Bangladesh 496

Serial

**Number Countries Recognition Date** 

- 01 India
- 02 Bhutan
- 03 German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
- 04 Bulgaria
- 05 Poland
- 06 Mongolia

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07 Burma
6^{\mathrm{th}} December 1971 6^{\mathrm{th}} December 11^{\mathrm{th}} January 1972
11^{\mathrm{th}} January
12<sup>th</sup> January
12<sup>th</sup> January
13<sup>th</sup> January
<sup>494</sup> Hossain, Kamal. (2013). "Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom", Oxford University Press., p.187
<sup>495</sup> Ibid, p.185-191
<sup>496</sup> Ibid., p.184-185
Number Countries Recognition Date
08 Nepal
09 Barbados
10 Yugoslavia
11 Soviet Union
12 Czechoslovakia
13 Hungary
14 Cyprus
15 Australia
16 New Zealand
17 Fiji
18 Cambodia
19 United Kingdom
20 West Germany
21 Denmark
22 Norway
23 Sweden
24 Finland
25 Iceland
26 Western Samoa
27 Tonga
28 Thailand
29 Japan
30 Cuba
31 Ireland
32 Belgium
33 The Netherlands
34 Luxemburg
35 France
36 Italy
37 Canada
38 Sri Lanka
39 United States of America
40 Pakistan
41 Iran
42 Turkey
43 China
44 Saudi Arabia
16<sup>th</sup> January
20<sup>th</sup> January
22<sup>nd</sup> January
24<sup>th</sup> January
25<sup>th</sup> January
26<sup>th</sup> January
27<sup>th</sup> January
31st January
31st January
31st January
31st January 4th February 1972
4<sup>th</sup> February
4<sup>th</sup> February
4<sup>th</sup> February
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4<sup>th</sup> February
7<sup>th</sup> February
10<sup>th</sup> February 11<sup>th</sup> February 11<sup>th</sup> February 11<sup>th</sup> February 11<sup>th</sup> February 12<sup>th</sup> February 12<sup>th</sup> February 14<sup>th</sup> February 14<sup>th</sup> March 1972 4<sup>th</sup>
April 1972 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1974 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1974 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1974 15<sup>th</sup> August 1975
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## Mujib; from Prisoner to Premier (1971-1975)

Owing to Bhutto 's political opportunism, and Yahya's political blunders, Mujib became the unchallenged leader of East Pakistan. On 8th January 1972, Mujib and Dr Kamal Hussain, two Awami League leaders who were being held by the Pakistani government since the military action of 25th March, arrived in London on a PIA plane. Mujib was released, Bhutto hailed that because of him Mujib was still living. Bhutto showed no resentment that Mujib was the man responsible for the treachery of dismemberment. According to Mujib, on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1971, he thought it was his last day when military men dug a grave in the cement floor of the adjacent cell but it turned out that it was a precautionary measure for impending air raids. The jailor kept Mujib hidden for two days delaying death for him and in June 1974, he asked Bhutto, visiting Dacca, to bring his saviour as a personal guest<sup>497</sup>.

On 10<sup>th</sup> January 1972, before going to Dacca, Mujib landed at Palam airport, New Delhi and was received by Indian President Dr. V. V. Giri and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In Dacca, he was overwhelmed by the crowd, ensuring Mujib of being the supreme leader of Bangladesh.

Mujib removed Tajuddin and became the prime minister. The job was not suited to Mujib's taste as he was once a provincial minister in Ata-urRehman's cabinet in 1956, unable to handle official routine and administrative duties, he was relieved from the post. He was an agitator and he knew well himself but the lust and greed for power could not restrain him from the tiring and industrious job of premiership. With the increase in power but the inability to administer it, he became suspicious of people surrounding him. To remain in power, he needed a cabinet of sycophants, for which, he did not need to look further; his Awami League had a huge number of them. Mujib appointed the Awami Leaguers, their relatives and friends at important positions in the government. In an informal discussion Dalim asked Mujib about the corrupt Awami Leaguers, he replied that, 'didn't my people suffer during Pak regime? Didn't they undergo losses? Didn't they lose their wealth and properties? If today they get some benefits, what is wrong in it? I can't remain indifferent towards them. If anyone is unhappy about this I can't help '498. The most ineligible persons got the highest jobs because they had contacts within the Awami League<sup>499</sup>. Abu Musa, a journalist noted that, 'he (Mujib) promised everything and he had betrayed everyone (common man)'500.

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497 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986), "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood", Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.35 Tyrannical Rule
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During his election campaign and after his victory in the 1970 elections in East Pakistan, Bengalis thought Mujib was for constitution, rule of law, freedom of speech, the right to dissent and equal opportunity, in reality Mujib was for the evil while he publically professed the good. He tortured and killed people who dared to stand against him. Gradually, the parliamentarian Mujib would become the authoritarian Mujib. The situation in post-1971 East Pakistan had deteriorated under Mujib so much that if the 'United Nations Relief Operation in Dacca' would not have been there to tackle the crises – food, disease, communication links, machinery, etc.

- then Mujib' government would not have lasted for even eight months <sup>501</sup>. The Indian Army took away all the equipment, machineries, supplies, and vehicles, of the surrendering Pakistani forces, all of which were valued at over US\$ 1,000 million. The Deputy Commissioner at Khulna had to write an official letter to the Indian Authorities that Indian forces had to stop the loot of machineries, vehicles, and equipment. According to Dalim, Maulana Bhashani claimed that 6,000 crores taka went out of post-1971 East Pakistan due to Indian forces and smugglers502. The price of rice was higher than it ever was under Yahya's rule. The soaring prices of rice did alarm the Mujib government and explanation was given that prices were high because of the war. Mujib government was unable to cope with the market manipulations and corruption, in other words were unwilling to handle. Indian arms were found in every house, small armed gangs came out to loot and kill. Even the capital city was not safe from these gangs freely roaming around markets to loot jewellery shops, cash, and any precious item. Mujib had no control over the increasing number of private militias, since the Pakistan army was no more there to control them, and these goons looted and killed the innocent people at will. From January 1972 to June 1973, there were 2,035 secret killings, 4,925 assassinations, 337 kidnappings, 190 rapes, and 4,907 robberies, reported in official statistics while arms and ammunition of 60 police stations were looted <sup>503</sup>.

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498 Shariful Haq Dalim (2015), "Bangladesh: Untold Facts", En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.419
499 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986), "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood", Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.14
500 Shariful Haq Dalim (2015), "Bangladesh: Untold Facts", En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.11
501 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986), "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood", Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.20
502 Shariful Haq Dalim (2015), "Bangladesh: Untold Facts", En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.422-423
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The hoarders and smugglers always escaped the government because high officials and Awami Leaguers themselves were involved in hoarding. Corruption had reached to such an unprecedented height that Prime Minister Khaleda Zia's statement in the Parliament on 13<sup>th</sup> August 1992, quoted late President Mujib as 'where is my piece of Kambal (Blanket)?' <sup>504</sup> Mujib' right hand Ghazi Gholam Mustafa, Chairman of Red Cross, had been called 'Kambal Chor – Blanket Thief' <sup>505</sup>. Historically, the Awami League was never clean of corrupt politicians. In 1950s, Awami League's ministers were guilty of unprecedented acts of corruption, nepotism, and misuse of funds, in which Mujib was prominent as the Minister of Commerce and Industries, issuing licenses, permits, and bank loans to ineligible close friends and Leaguers506. A report of Dr K. U. Ahmad states that, 'food prices are soaring in Bangladesh chiefly because supplies sent in from abroad to relieve widespread hunger are being smuggled out to the Indian market by Bangladeshi traders aided by corrupt government officials' 507.

In Mujib's three and half-year tenure, 60,000 million taka (£ 2,000 million) worth of goods – jute, food grains, and other imported materials – were smuggled out of the country. The smuggling increased after Mujib opened borders with India. More than two billion dollars had been pumped into the Bangladeshi economy but by early 1974, Bangladesh was bankrupt  $^{508}$ . Few ministries were shuffled and the corrupt bureaucracy and businessmen remained free to fearlessly run the system of loot. The corruption prevailed because Mujib wanted it to, because this culture of unaccountability would ensure that corrupt

officials of the government and the Awami league would not stand up against his premiership.

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503 Ibid., p.335
504 Ibid p.536
505 Ibid p.383, p.420
506 Ibid, p.418, p.419
507 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986). "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood". Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.27
508 Ibid, p.28
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Without losing any opportunity of sycophancy, the *darbaris* (courtiers) would shower their praises on Mujib. Mujib increasingly became confident and intolerant to opposition, demanding loyalty as he ventured for more power through the Parliament, filled with Mujib's *darbaris*. One of the conspirators in Mujib's assassination, Tahiruddin Thakur was the Minister of State for Information, sycophantically started the ritual to touch Mujib's feet. Afterwards, Mujib 'took severe note of those who dared not to touch his feet '509'.

Mujib sent his son Jamal to the army to hold a high position in the coming years. He sent his son to the Yugoslav Military Academy, who was unable to compete and returned abashed. Jamal's incompetence did not deter Mujib in enrolling him in another military academy, this time Britain's Sandhurst Military Academy. The Academy admitted Jamal on the condition that he would pay the training fee, thus 180,000 taka (£ 6,000) were secretly channelled to its10. On the other hand, Mujib had been dividing the Bangladeshi army into factions, which would become the cause of three highprofile killings in the history of Bangladesh including that of Mujib and his close family, and General Ziaur Rehman (President) and The Jail Killings (prominent Awami League leaders: Syed Nazrul Islam, Tajuddin Ahmad, M. Monsur Ali and A. H. M. Quamruzzaman) and it should also be noted that assassins were the same Mukti Bahini, created by Mujib with the support of India.

Common people had nowhere to go, the streets were full of armed gangs, and dacoits while the Awami Leaguers were interested in raising more armed Bahinis to further their self-interests. Abdul Mannan, the leader of Awami Sramik League, raised the ruthless 'Lal Bahini' a paramilitary group of one hundred thousand men<sup>511</sup>. Lal Bahini had to control industrial areas where in the summer of 1972, officially thirty-six people were killed and eighty were injured while unofficially the death toll was more than two thousand; it was said that Mujib's experimental armies were behind these tragic incidents <sup>512</sup>. Once in a public meeting, Mujib had boastfully mentioned that, '*I am warning the anti-state miscreants*. *If necessary, I shall release my Lal Gohra* [Lal Bahini]'513. On 17th March 1975, his Rakkhi Bahini opened fired killing eleven protestors. In other words, the killings occurred due to Mujib's ongoing political game with another political party, the Jashod.

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    509 Ibid., p.29
    510 Ibid., p.35
    511 Shariful Haq Dalim. (2015). "Bangladesh: Untold Facts". En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.334
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Mujib after a lot of experiments with private armies – Shecha Shebak Bahini, Joy Bangla Bahini, Lal Bahini and other Bahinis – raised 'Jhatiyo Rakhi Bahini' – the National Security Force. The force comprised of 25,000 men with military training, army style uniforms, steel helmets, and modern automatic weapons. The force was more like the Nazi Brownshirts. Its apparent purpose was to maintain the law and order situation with the police, while its actual purpose was to eliminate opposition and critics of Mujib and the Awami League<sup>514</sup>. In May 1974, in a torture case against Rakhi Bahini, 'Supreme Court found that Mujib's storm troops [Rakhi Bahini] had no code of conduct, no rules of procedure and no register of arrests and interrogation'. The Supreme Court's findings cost it heavily and it lost its power to intervene in Mujib's affairs.

Mujib's other son Kamal like his father, was intolerant of criticism and opposition, for him such activities were 'anti-national'. He allegedly used to hunt down political opponents of his father. By early 1974, political murders reached to 2,000 deaths including of parliamentarians515.

In the third year of independence, more than 27,000 people had died of starvation; price of rice had gone above 300 taka; and floods had destroyed the agricultural land. On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1975, an operation was launched on the poor inhabitants of Dacca which caused the exodus of 200,000 people from Dacca, while some moved to three camps outside the city. As they could, poor people left for their villages but more than 50,000 people were thrown in camps – conditions were not any better than concentration camps – guarded by the Rakhi Bahini. Grace Samson, a Dutch Salvation Army volunteer, said that, 'not an act of God, but an act of government; a manmade disaster'. An old man in a camp said to a journalist, addressing the government that 'either give us food or shoot us' 516. In each Parliament session Mujib used 'cosmetic operation' to hide his failures, usually by inflicting blame on the cabinet ministers. By the end of 1974, Mujib successfully distracted the public rage and anger towards various government ministries.

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512 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986). "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood". Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.25
513 Shariful Haq Dalim. (2015). "Bangladesh: Untold Facts". En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.334
514 Ibid., p.365-378
515 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986). "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood". Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.37, p.38
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The Mukti Bahini, once hailed as the freedom fighters, now confined to their barracks or discredited by the Awami League, helplessly looking at Mujib's politics thought it imperative to intervene. Thus army became politicized and the fateful day came nearer to Mujib.

On 28<sup>th</sup> December 1974, Mujib imposed a 'state of emergency', followed with a number of amendments in the Constitution – masterminded and piloted by him. On 25<sup>th</sup> January 1975, the amendments relegated the Parliament with an 'advisory status' and gave absolute power to the head of state. The voting results showed 294 favoured the move, not even a single move was against the amendments17. The amendments were called the 'Second Revolution' for salvation from the exploitation and injustice, and Maulana Bhashani; Mujib's opponent also endorsed his amendments in the Constitution. Mujib became the head of state and the Parliament became his 'advisory council'. The mistake to become the absolute monarch directed the rage and anger of masses towards him, for 'the great parliamentarian had become the great dictator '518. On 7th June 1975, the 4<sup>th</sup> amendment was passed in Mujib's advisory parliament – approving a one-party state, with the formation of the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BKSAL). Mujib's dictatorial role was increasing for he would also head the single party as well as the oneparty state; the directives specified the rule regarding BKSAL as follows:

517 Talukder Maniruzzaman. (1976). "Bangladesh in 1975: The Fall of the Mujib Regime and Its Aftermath", Asian Survey, Vol. 16 No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1975: Part 2. University of California Press., p.120

518 Anthony Mascarenhas. (1986). "Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood". Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., p.45

When the National Party [BKSAL] is formed a person shall:

1) In case he is a member of Parliament on the date the

National Party is formed, cease to be such member, and his seat in Parliament shall become vacant if does not a become a member of the National Party within the time by the President.

- 2) Not be qualified for election as President or as a member of Parliament if he is not nominated as a candidate for such election by the National Party.
- *3) Have no right of form, or to be a member or otherwise take part in the activities of any political party other than the National Party* <sup>519</sup> .

BKSAL system had to start on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1975. 'BKSAL was another one of Mujib's political gimmicks and reform was not the objective. BKSAL was intended to shut out all opposition and give him a stranglehold on the country '520'.

In July 1974, 'Operation Clean -up' was initiated by Mujib for people's goodwill. The Operation involved army personnel to arrest people's goodwill. The Operation involved army personnel to arrest year-old young man who was leading a dacoit gang. In interrogation, he professed that he is an Awami Leaguer, and confessed that he had killed 21 people on his ustad's (Mujib) orders. The army personnel found themselves helpless in front of the Awami Leaguers. If they arrested them for hoarding, smuggling, or murders, the police would soon release them from custody. Another incident in which three arrested thugs confessed to killing a bridegroom and a taxi driver, while abducting the bride, raping her, and throwing her mutilated body on the roadside; the incident of the newly-wed couple shocked the north of Dacca, Tongi. Interrogator found that the ringleader was the Chairman of Tongi Awami League, Muzamil. Muzamil was arrested by army men; he was unsuccessful in bribing the army and was handed over to the police authorities. According to the army officer Muzamil offered an amount of 300,000 taka to release him before 'making it a public affair'. Muzamil said to the army officer, 'You will anyway have to let me go, either today or tomorrow. So why not take the money and forget about it'. Remaining true to his claim he was released after a few days due to direct orders from Mujib himsell<sup>521</sup>.

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519 Ibid., p.57 <sup>520</sup> Ibid., p.59 Assassination
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Mujib elevated himself from the premiership to presidentship and then absolute power; from Awami League to BKSAL as discussed above. In this hustle, Mujib not expecting the consequent public rage and anger against him raised the Rakhi Bahini, to destroy conspiracies and conspirators. Mujib despised political opponents and disagreements, as is evident from the murder of Siraj Shikdar, leader of Maoist Sharbohara (Proletarian) party, who was unwilling to forgo his opposition of Mujib522 . Siraj Shikdar was reported to be shot dead in an encounter with six shots in his chest at close range. Shikdar's 19-year-old sister Shamim, one of the best sculptresses of Bangladesh, decided to kill Mujib with a pistol provided by the Proletarian Party. However, she could not succeed in her plan because she was unable to get close enough to Mujib for a close range shot 523. She was not the only conspirator, there were other conspirators who were intending to overthrow him and in the midst, there was Major Farooq, Second-in-Command 1st Bengal Lancer and Major Rashid, Commanding 2nd Field Artillery, desperately waiting for an opportunity for attempting a coup and power handover to someone more capable than the incapable and brutal dictator like Mujib.

Major Farooq had started planning the coup plans 'Operation Cleanup' became a complete failure due to the Awami League itself. According to him:

' It seemed as if we were living in a society headed by a criminal organization. It was as if the Mafia had taken over Bangladesh. We were totally disillusioned. Here was the head of government abetting murder and other extreme things from which he was supposed to protect us. This was not acceptable. We decided he must go '524'.

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    521 Ibid., p.47, p.48
    522 Shariful Haq Dalim. (2015). "Bangladesh: Untold Facts". En ed. Jumhoori Publications., p.447-454
    523 Ibid., p.46, p.47
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In January 1974, in an event Major Shariful Huq Dalim and his wife were insulted and bullied by the brother of Ghazi Gholam Mustafa, the right hand of Mujib. Army officers, in revenge, wrecked Ghazi Gholam Mustafa's bungalow. Mujib tried to normalize both parties because Dalim' wife was also closely connected to Mujib's family as was Ghazi Gholam After this, there was another incident in Comilla cantonment in which twenty-two young officers were prematurely retired from the service. Within these twenty two officers, three officers, Dalim, Noor, and Huda were the ex-army personnel who would eventually assassinate Mujib<sup>525</sup>.

According to Major Farooq, when Muzamil the criminal Chairman of Awami League was released without any charges on the direct intervention of Mujib, 'After that [Tongi Incident] I was just not interested in promotions, courses, career or anything, I only thought about one thing – how this government should go'. There were many army men planning to overthrow Mujib's dictatorial rule. After reading a lot of books including the Marxist literature of Mao, Farooq found himself with a case that could relate to Bangladesh, the Indonesian overthrow of Sukamo. He meticulously noted down the consequences of his action, courageously accepting his fate in any case, he focused on other consequences: 1) direct or indirect Indian intervention and, 2) charisma and spell of Mujib could drive most of the population and army against them. In both cases, both the Majors convinced themselves that, 'Mujib had to die because he was more experienced politically and if he lived we would not have been able to control the situation. He would have brought in outside powers, even if it meant a civil war. And he would have turned the tables on us'.

Overall there were a lot of plots concocted by the 'Majors Group'. In December 1974, Major Farooq discussed his plot to hijack Mujib's helicopter and to kill him in the air. The plan was dropped due to a lot of nitpicking. Afterwards he started to plan all alone, at first he noted down people who could be dangerous, the primary target Mujib, senior Awami Leaguers such as Syed Nazrul Islam (Major Farook's uncle), Tajuddin Ahmed, and Mansoor Ali – and in the army he listed, Chief of Army Staff Major General Shafiullah, Deputy COS Major General Zia ur Rahman and Chief of General Staff Brigadier Khalid

Musharraf and in the end Mujib's Rakhi Bahini. He got the plan, but it required a brigade for a successful execution, forcing him to edit the list. In the end, the list of the dangerous people included the primary target Mujib, his nephew Sheikh Fazul Huq Moni, and his brother-in-law Abdur Rab Serniabat, not to forget the Rakhi Bahini had to be blocked from rapid retaliation.

# 524 Ibid, p.48

The final plan of the majors was, to kill Mujib, Sheikh Fazul Huq Moni, and Abdur Rab Serniabat while to take Mujib' sons, Kamal and Jamal as prisoners. The preparations were made with 28 tanks, 12 trucks, three jeeps, and three teams of 75-150 men<sup>526</sup>.

On 15<sup>th</sup> August 1975, at 5.15 a.m., Major Mohiuddin, ex-Major Noor and Major Huda rushed towards house No. 32, the residence of Mujib, at Dhanmandi. At about 5.40 a.m., Mujib was killed, leaving behind a legacy of tyranny and dream of authoritarian oneparty BKSAL. The team was under the command 'wipe out anything en route' in case of resistance, thus they killed Kamal Mujib and his wife, Jamal Mujib and his wife, Russell Mujib, Mujib's wife and Mujib's younger brother Sheikh Nasir; Mujib's daughter Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were out of the country and thus survived. The second team led by Dalim, raided Abdur Rab Serniabat's house and killed him, while mistaken for his son Hasnat, his cousin Shahid was killed. The third team led by Risaldar Muslehuddin killed Shiekh Fazul Huq Moni, and his wife who tried to protect her husband also got killed527. Khandaker Moshtak became the President and the mission was successfully accomplished, without any sort of Indian threat and army high command hostility. The coup changed the international situation for Bangladesh; Saudi Arabia recognized Bangladesh, a day after the coup because it had gotten rid of the secular and pro-Soviet Mujib; China recognized Bangladesh because its new government was willing to tilt away from the pro-Indo-Soviet policies; and the Pakistani government immediately – within few hours – recognized the Moshtak government<sup>528</sup>.

# <sup>526</sup> Ibid, p.70-71

# Ziaur Rehman (1977-1981)

With Mujib's assassination, ended a dark era of tyranny and autocracy. Khandorkar Mushtak Ahmed, considered a close companion of Mujib, became the president. Nevertheless, his presidency was soon terminated by a military coup on 3rd November 1975 led by Brigadier Khaled Mosharraf. General Ziaur Rehman, the then Chief of General Staff and one of the chief architects behind Bangladesh's creation, was deposed and was put under house arrest. But on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1975, the regime of Khaled Mosharraf was overthrown through a sepoy mutiny which handed the reins of powers to General Ziaur Rehman, who nominated Justice Abu Sadat Mohammad Saem as president after his resignation in 1977. Zia assumed the powers after a nationwide referendum held on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1977. For consolidating his authority, he organized parliamentary polls in 1979. In addition to this, he also launched his own political party known as Bangladesh National Party (BNP) for the civilianization of his regime. He also reinstalled a multiparty system which was banned by Mujib.

General Ziaur Rehman's regime was an antithesis of Mujib's regime. Zia's main contribution had been to reverse the ideological outlook of Bangladesh. As discussed earlier, Mujib under the influence of India gave a secular stance to the Bengali nation, which was a clear diversion from the ideas of its forefathers, who had fought and preserved Islam for Bangladesh. Mujib under the Indian influence sought to build the newly-created state on the basis of western style secularism, democracy, socialism, and nationalism. But, Zia endeavoured to liberate his country from the clutches of India. Hence, his government transformed the constitutional pillars of the state from secularism to Islam. Accordingly, the principle of secularism was annulled from the Constitution through the Fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) amendment in the Constitution of 1972 and the principle was replaced with the statement- 'Absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah'

528 Talukder Maniruzzaman. (1976). "Bangladesh in 1975: The Fall of the Mujib Regime and Its Aftermath". Asian Survey, Vol. 16 No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1975: Part 2. University of California Press., p.123

and phrase of 'Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim' was inserted above the preamble of the constitution <sup>529</sup>. Further, he wanted to divert the State from the Indian-led path. His proximity with Islamic principles and alienation from India brought Bangladesh closer to Pakistan. He wanted good relations with Pakistan and always kept India at a distance.

He weeded out the Hindus from public services, police, and army. These Hindus after their termination went to India and sought asylums30. This also clearly proves that the Indians were present in large numbers in the civil and military establishment of Bangladesh since her creation. His government was recognized by Pakistan, China, and Saudi Arabia. Such an acknowledgement by the Pakistani government sent negative vibes to India, which supported every move against General Zia's regime. It was reported then, that India had been organizing and supporting the pro-Mujib factions to lead a guerrilla campaign against Zia's regime. In one case *Kader Siddique*, the notorious guerrilla leader with the help of the Indian artillery had reportedly occupied four major border posts and had sent a message to pro-Mujib groups to liberate Bangladesh again in December 1975<sup>532</sup>.

Vulnerable against the evil Indian intentions, Zia spent enormous amounts of money on defence, according to one estimate, in 1981 military expenditure rose by 186 per cent 533. Such huge defense expenditure demonstrates the insecurity of Bangladesh from India. Zia's insecurity proved correct when he became a victim of a military coup lead by Major General Manzoor which was possibly backed by India. Some officers from Chittagong cantonment assassinated President Ziaur Rehman on 30th May 1981.

- 529 Mantoo, Shahnawaz A, Indian-Bangladesh relationship (1975-1990), Journal of South Asian Studies, 03 (03) 2015, p. 337
- <sup>530</sup> Ibid
- 531 Maniruzzaman, Talukder, Bangladesh in 1975: The fall of the Mujib Regime and its Aftermath, Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No. 2, A survey of Asia in 1975: Part II (Feb., 1976). P.128.
- 532 Ibio
- 533 Hakim, Muhammad A, Bangladesh: The beginning of the end of militarized politics, Contemporary South Asia 7:3, 1998, p. 283-300

# Hussain M. Ershad (1982-1990)

After the assassination of General Ziaur Rehman, Vice President Justice Abdus Sattar became the acting President and then on 15th November 1981 he was elected as the President of Bangladesh.

On 24 th March 1982 under the leadership of Bangladeshi Army Chief Lt General Hussain Mohammad Ershad, the Bangladeshi army led another bloodless coup to end the presidency of Justice Abdus Sattar. The Constitution was suspended, the Parliament was dissolved, the Cabinet was dismissed and a moratorium was imposed on political activities. All these undemocratic measures were carried out under the rhetoric of, 'Safeguarding the nation's

sovereignty and independence and to save and rescue the country from social, administrative and economic disaster' 534. In order to legitimize his undemocratic government, Ershad followed Zia's model of governance by organizing a public referendum in March 1985, parliamentary polls in May 1986, and presidential elections in October 1986<sup>535</sup>. But all these were reportedly rigged to a great extent. Ershad's government mainly worked to generate a military share in running the affairs of the State. Accordingly, after grabbing the reins of power, he included the military representatives in local councils. The Jatiya Party (JP), established with the blessings of the military government of Ershad, entered the Parliament and functioned under the directives of Ershad. On 12th July 1987, the government moved the Local Government (*Zila Parishad*) Amendment Bill in the JP dominated parliament. The Bill was a proposal to include military representatives at the local council level. The chaos following the passing of the Bill compelled Ershad to reconsider his proposal. Thereafter, the Bill was resent to the Parliament for reconsideration. However, the JPdominated Parliament itself was dissolved before it could reconsider the Bill. The Parliament was dissolved and firesh elections were called by Ershad only to stem the continued agitation of the opposition parties.

Ershad's regime mainly used the rhetoric of Islam to legitimize his regime. He made efforts to Islamize the Bengali Society; he introduced changes in the educational curriculum, and made Arabic a compulsory subject in the elementary classes. He built an Islamic University, established a 'Zakat fund', encouraged madrasa education, organized and attended *ijtimas* (mass gathering) of the *Tableeghi Jamaats* (religious preaching parties). His most vital contribution was the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution which declared Islam as the state religion of Bangladesh in June 1988536. His internal policies were widely based on Islam and its teachings. He utilized the slogan of Islam to attract popular mass support.

534 Ibid, p. 289. 535 Ibid, p. 290.

As a contradiction to his Islamic polices and support to Islamic parties he lambasted Jamaat-e-Islami of Bangladesh because of its opposition to his regime. He used the liberation war card to attract support from those people who considered the Jamaat as a Pakistani 'collaborator'. During the presidential address on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1988, Ershad as President said, "Those who opposed the liberation war in 1971 and killed the freedom fighters have now joined politics with their heads high'. He said, 'Will you remain silent? Will you sit idle? It is high time these enemies of liberation are eliminated. They have no place in this country' <sup>537</sup>. The statement of President Ershad illustrates that since the creation of Bangladesh the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh remains the favourite punching bag for various governments. The Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh faces the wrath of each autocratic government owing to their support for united Pakistan during the insurgency of 1971.

In his foreign policy, he was inclined towards the United States of America (USA), China, and the Middle Eastern countries. With such an inclination, his relations with India were marked by distrust and insecurity. On several occasions he emphasized on the maintenance of Bangladesh's sovereign equality in her relations with immediate neighbours, including India.

The opposition parties—Bangladesh National Party (BNP), Awami League (AL), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and the alliance of leftist parties started demonstrations against the undemocratic regime of Ershad. General strikes, mass demonstrations and blockades were organized by the opposition parties, which disrupted the functioning of the government. In order to normalize the situation Ershad scheduled new parliamentary elections on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1988. The elections were reported to be a one-party affair as all the major opposition parties boycotted the elections. The call for Ershad's resignation reached new heights after five people were reportedly killed by the security forces in a massive demonstration led by the opposition parties538. In December 1990, it seemed as the whole country was against the undemocratic regime of Ershad. Hence, on 6th December 1990, Ershad resigned and transferred his powers to Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed.

536 Kabir, K.S., Islam as a Symbol of Ligitimization: The Islamization Project of President General Ershad in Bangladesh, Far Eastern Economic Review, 1982. 537 The Bangladesh Observer, 13 November 1988, p. I

# The Era of the Battling Beguns (1991- Present)

After the end of the military rule in 1990s, Bangladesh was governed by two Begums-Begum Khaleda Zia of (BNP) and Sheikh Hasina Wajid of the Awami League (AL). To understand the contemporary political history of Bangladesh, it's important to comprehend the foundational basis of these parties, BNP and AL.

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)

Being the legacy of ex-President General Ziaur Rehman, BNP was founded on 1st September 1978. It is led by Begum Khaleda Zia the widow of Ziaur Rehman. BNP is considered to have a conservative outlook and advocates the role of Islam in the governance of the State. It also promotes privatization of business and economic markets. It has formed coalition governments' with the Jamaat-e-Islami, a party which is considered to enjoy Pakistani collaboration. In her foreign policy, BNP is inclined more toward USA, China, and Middle East and also endorses good relations with Pakistan. The BNP has been highly critical of India and its interference in Bangladesh's internal affairs. The anti-India stance has been the persistent policy of BNP and it has always been critical of Awami League's inclination towards India.

Awami League (AL)

Awami League has been around Bangladesh since its creation. Currently, the party is led by Sheikh Hasina Wajid, the surviving daughter of Mujib, after the assassination of Mujib and his family on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1975. The Awami League is considered to have a secular outlook and advocates a socialist economy. Since its establishment, AL has maintained a close relationship with India. In foreign policy, AL governments have held a hard stance against Pakistan and have remained friendlier with India. AL is always lambasted for its concessions to India by compromising the sovereignty of Bangladesh. It is criticized for transforming Bangladesh into India's vassal state. It also holds a tough stance against the Islamic parties within the country, as it considers them to be Pakistani collaborators. To demonstrate, Jamaat-e-Islami is branded to be Pakistani collaborator and currently its leadership is facing the wrath of the autocratic government of Hasina Wajid.

538 Ibid

Other Parties

Apart from these above-mentioned parties, Jatiya Party and Jamaat-e-Islami are two prominent political parties in the political arena of Bangladesh. Both BNP and AL have been successful in formation of governments. In the following sections, the governments of BNP and AL will be discussed in some detail.

After the resignation of President Ershad, Bangladesh went for parliamentary polls on 27th February 1991. Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led by Khaleda Zia, the widow of Ziaur Rehman, won one-hundred and forty (140) seats out of three hundred (300) seats and with the support of Jamaat-e-Islami formed the government 539. The BNP started its tenure by passing the Twelfth (12th ) Amendment in the Constitution which called for the parliamentary form of government and annulled the need for presidential elections. Although, before elections, BNP advocated the presidential form of government but was convinced by AL for the parliamentary form. But this cooperation of government and opposition did not last long.

The confrontation between both parties started to surface on multiple issues. After the reported rigging in the by-elections of Magura, in March 1994, the AL strengthened its demand for the formation of a National Caretaker Government for the supervision of the polls. AL leading the opposition boycotted the Parliament's sittings and initiated street agitation backed by frequent general strikes. Jamaat-e-Islami which initially supported BNP now started to support AL demands and eventually joined the AL-led campaign. The uncompromising approach of the BNP government led to the resignation of AL, Jatiya party, and Jamaat-e-Islami from the Parliament on 28th December 1994540 . Consequently, the Parliament was dissolved on 24th November 1995 and fresh elections were called on 15th February 1996.

539 Riaz, Ali, Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman, Handbook of Contemporary Bangladesh, Routledge, 2016 p. 22

BNP remained the sole competitor and winner as all the opposition parties boycotted the election. The new regime of BNP met only for 12 days to pass the Thirteenth (13<sup>th</sup>) Amendment which called for the organization of elections under the National Caretaker Government. BNP then resigned and under the National Caretaker Government the elections for the seventh parliament took place in June 1996. Sheikh Hasina's AL bagged 146 seats and thus emerged as the leading party. BNP gained 116, Jatiya Party 32 and Jamaat-eIslami was able to gain only 3 seats<sup>541</sup>. Short of absolute majority AL formed a coalition government with support of the Jatiya party [JP] and Jatiya Samajtanrik Dal [JSD]. Sheikh Hasina became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

A politically-disturbed regime of Khaleda Zia followed her husband's policies in her foreign policy. She maintained normal relations with Pakistan and kept India at a distance. She remained neutral in the Iraq and Iran war of 1991 and strengthened her ties with China and the Islamic countries. On the economic front, the BNP government faced much hardship due to the massive cyclone and tidal waves of 1991. However, it still managed to improve the GDP and per capita income. All in all, BNP's government of (1991- 1996) was marked by internal political upheavals, slightly an improved economy, and a neutral foreign policy other than her relations with India.

Awami League (1996-2001)

Under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina Wajid, AL formed a coalition government with JP. Despite having a coalition government the decision-making powers were only reserved for the Premier Hasina. Continuing with the legacy of Mujib, Sheikh Hasina's government inclined towards India and signed the Ganga Water Sharing Treaty on 12th December 1996. Internally, the AL government signed a peace agreement with the Chittagong Hill Tracts rebels on 2nd December 1997. Both these agreements are still considered to be the success stories of AL's tenure. However, the opposition parties led by BNP had always been critical of these agreements.

 $\frac{540}{\text{Jahan, Rounaq, }Political\ Parties\ in\ Bangladesh-\ CPD-CMI\ working\ paper\ , CHR\ MICHELSEN\ Institute, 2014, p.7.}{541\ \text{Ibid}}$ 

One of the major political upheavals in Hasina's first tenure had been the conundrum of the National Caretaker Government. BNP refused to take part in any by-election or local election and demanded for the organization of a competent national caretaker government for conducting local elections.

AL's denial for any caretaker government forced BNP towards countrywide agitation and general strikes. Amid these demonstrations, BNP also lobbied for building an electoral alliance with Islamist parties for the upcoming elections. Three parties Jamaat-e-Islami, the Islami Oikya Jote and a faction of JP formed an alliance with the BNP which was later known as 'Four Party Alliance'. After completion of its term, the AL transferred powers to the National Caretaker Government to organize the eighth parliamentarian polls. Accordingly, the polls were conducted on 1st October 2001 in which the BNP led a four party alliance, gained a majority of votes by securing 216 seats and thus, won a two-third majority.

The tenure of Sheikh Hasina Wajid was marked by unabated corruption, favouritism, nepotism, politicization of administration, extortion, and the victimization of political opponents <sup>542</sup>. To illustrate, in 2001 Bangladesh remained the most corrupt country under the rankings of Transparency International <sup>543</sup>. Her regime also followed the politics of vengeance, as fifteen military personnel were sentenced to death for their involvement in the assassination of Mujib in 1975. All in all, Hasina's government continued the bloody and corrupt legacy of Mujib.

542 Islam, M.Nazrul, Two Decades of Democracy in Bangladesh 1991-2010: Disillusionment with Practice, Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 2011.

543 For details Visit: www. Transparency.org,

(http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/cpi 2001) accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.

BNP Returns (2001-2006)

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) again entered the Parliament now with two-third majority in the elections of 2001. The elections were followed by continued violence between the supporters of the AL and the BNP-led four party alliance.

BNP's regime of 2001 was marked by con tinued violence, with the internal rift within the national parties leading to total chaos in Bangladesh. AL sitting in opposition in the Parliament made every possible effort to derail BNP's government. In its campaign in 2004, AL called for 21 general strikes across the states to oust BNP's regime544. The continued boycott of the AL also disrupted the functioning of the Parliament. In August 2004, an AL rally came under a grenade attack in which 22 members of AL were killed, but Sheikh Hasina luckily survived. Likewise, in early 2004, AL's prominent leader, Shams Kibria was killed.

Following the electoral strategy of BNP, AL also started to form a huge and effective alliance for ousting BNP in the coming elections. AL was supported by JP (Ershad's Faction), Bangladesh's worker party, and other small regional parties. The bone of contention between the BNP-led alliance and the newly-

formed alliance of AL was on the formation of a neutral National Caretaker Government. AL accused BNP's government for the formation of a biased National Caretaker Government and consequent violence followed again between both the parties.

The State was on the brink of a civil war when military intervened on  $1_{st}$  January 2007 and emergency was declared. The military regime installed a new National Caretaker Government under a civilian leadership. The new National Caretaker Government organized elections on 29th December 2008 for the ninth (9th ) parliament. The AL-led grand alliance bagged 262 seats and the BNP-led alliance was able to secure only 34 seats<sup>545</sup>. The elections were considered to be fair and free by both domestic and international observers<sup>546</sup>.

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    544 Alauddin, Muhammad, Political Disasters in Bangladesh & Affairs of the State of Emergency
    2007, Candian Social Science, Vol.4,1<sup>st</sup> February 2008.
    545 Jahan, Rounaq, Political Parties in Bangladesh- CPD-CMI working paper, CHR MICHELSEN Institute, 2014, p. 9.
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Hasina's Regime (2009-2014)

The grand alliance led by the AL under the Premiership of Sheikh Hasina formed the government on 6<sup>th</sup> January 2009. It has been an open secret that whenever AL comes in government it has Indian support. Afrasiab Qureshi, the former High commissioner of Pakistan in Bangladesh, in his book, 1971: Fact and Fiction narrates that, 'According to a former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh, "one fine rainy evening" immediately after the December 2008 general elections in Bangladesh, the joint Secretary dealing with Dhaka in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, "Summoned" the Bangladeshi High Commissioner in New Delhi. During the brief meeting, "a list of a few names including that of Dipu Moni" was handed over to him with "clear instructions" that these persons "must be included" in the new Cabinet of Bangladesh' 547. It is necessary to mention here that 'Dipu Moni' was not only a member of cabinet but was made the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh and remained in office from 6<sup>th</sup> January 2009 to 20<sup>th</sup> November 2013<sup>548</sup>.

The prior promises of collaboration on democratic matters by both parties, BNP and AL, remained shallow as both parties followed different courses after elections. BNP adopted its traditional modus operandi and started street agitation and parliament boycott. On the other hand, the AL taking full advantage of its majority in the Parliament prepared such future mechanisms which ensured the continuity of its rule. In June 2011, the AL-led Parliament passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution which omitted the National Caretaker Government by the Act of 2011549. The same amendment also restored secularism and freedom of religion. The amendment basically restored the rhetoric of democracy, nationalism, secularism, and socialism which were once utilized by Hasina's father to gather support from different sections of the public. BNP, the main opposition party, widely opposed the constitutional amendments and called for general strikes and demonstrations.

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546 lbid.
547 Afrasiab, 1971: Fact and Fiction, Makhdoom Printing press Lahore, 2015, p 151.
548 Ministry of Foreign Affairs: (http://www.mofa.gov.bd/foreign-minister/dr-dipumoni)
549 For detail Visit: official website of Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Legislative Parliamentarian Divisional Affairs (http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/print_sections_all.php?id=367) accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> June
2016.
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International Crimes Tribunal (ICT)

Another source of violent confrontation between AL, BNP and Jamaat-e-Islami was the trial of War Criminals of 1971. AL had committed for such trials in its 2008 election manifesto. The AL-led government passed a bill in the Parliament, the International Crimes (Tribunal) Amendment Act 2009, to set up International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) to prosecute war criminals and crimes against humanity and acts of genocide committed during the 1971 war. In 2013 its scope was further widened to include the prosecution of organizations 550. These tribunals were only formed to politically victimize the opposing political parties and specifically the Jamaat-eIslami. Both the initiatives- the constitutional amendment and the formation of ICT by AL were directed against BNP and Jamaat-eIslami. The opposition parties refused such constitutional changes and called for nationwide agitation and demonstrations.

The current regime in Bangladesh increasingly became vicious with the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, accusing its leadership of war crimes. In Mujib's dictatorial tenure, there were two categories of cases: case of 195 Pakistani army officers and the case of collaboration with the Pakistan army and Pakistan government. On 24<sup>th</sup> January 1972, the 'Collaborators (Special Tribunal) Order' was passed to bring those people to court that had collaborated with the Pakistan army and Pakistan government during nine months of 1971. More than 100,000 people were arrested as 'collaborators' or '*Razakars*'. Sevenhundred and fifty two (752) people were found guilty of different crimes; no one from Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh was convicted. The arrests took place from 1972 to 1974551. It was also a political stunt for AL against the opposition. Anyone could get rid of his enemy, by denouncing him to the government as a collaborator. It was assured that the collaborator would be sent to jail and have his property confiscated. Later, on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1975, Bangladesh Collaborators (Special Tribunal) (Repeal) Ordinance was promulgated thus repealing the previous monstrous law of Mujib.

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550 For detail Visit ,The Bangladesh Trial Observer (https://bangladeshtrialobserver.org/2013/03/07/amendment-of-international-crimestribunal-act-of-1973/) accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2016 551 Dr. Md. Abdul Jalil. (2010). "War Crimes Trial in Bangladesh: A Real Political Vendetta". Journal of Politics and Law. Vol. 3, No. 2. http://ccsenet.org/journal/indexphp/jpl/article/viewFile/7193/5540., p.113
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In 1973, the International Crimes (Tribunal) Act was passed in the Bangladeshi Parliament. The Act mentions the trial and punishment of 'persons who were members of any armed, defense, or auxiliary forces and who has committed war crimes or crimes against humanity' 552. Before the tripartite agreement between Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh of 1974, the Bangladeshi government named 195 Pakistan army men as war criminals, while no one from the Jamaat-e-Islami leadership was listed or convicted 553.

The case of 195 Pakistani army officers and soldiers, for which Bangladesh, India and Pakistan signed a treaty on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1974, in New Delhi stating that there, would be no trials. The Article 14 of the Agreement, clearly states that the Bangladeshi government is committed to 'forget and forgive' and will start a new era without any past grievances of the atrocities and destruction regarding which the Pakistani government in Article 13 showed condemnation and regret for the crimes committed from their end (text of the Agreement is provided in **Annexure-16**).

As Bangladesh had agreed to not to hold trials for the 195 Pakistan army men under the agreement, no trial was committed. Although, there was no evidence against the Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh followers and supporters to be convicted either under the International Crimes (Tribunal) Act or Collaborator (Special Tribunal) Order, thus the current situation of war trials against the collaborators – Jamaat-i-Islami Bangladesh and its student wing, Shibir – after thirty-nine years has become a shadowy political game of the AL to subjugate a strong political opponent.

of the AL to subjugate a strong political opponent.

2001. In both the tenures, it had not moved against Jamaat-e-Islami. Ironically, the AL, Jamaat-e-Islami, and BNP from a single platform raised resistance against the sevenyear Ershad' rule. During a struggle for the restoration of democracy, AL leaders — Mohammad Nasim (Home Minister in 1996-2001), Amir Hossain Amu (Minister Present), Tofail Ahmed (AL parliament member in 2014-present), Abdul Jalil -deceased- (AL central committee member), and Abdus Samad Azad (a close friend of Mujib, first foreign minister and prominent leader at Mujibnagar during 1971) — held numerous meetings for organizing protests and future strategies with the Jamaat-e-Islami leaders — A. T. M. Azharul Islam (sentenced to death in 2014), Abdul Quader Molla (hanged in 2013), Muhammad Kamaruzzaman (hanged in 2015), Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mojaheed (hanged in 2015), and Motiur Rahman Nizami (hanged in May 2016)554 . 552 Ibid, p.112

Such is the treachery and hypocrisy of the AL that they hanged the political leaders – mainly Jamaat-e-Islami leaders and BNP leaders [Salahuddin Quader Chowdhury, a close aide of Khaleda Zia] – with whom they had held press conferences, and staged protests in struggle for restoration of democracy and movement of the caretaker government, in 1980s and 1990s. AL has just reverted to its traditional dirty tactics of suppressing popular political opposition.

The tribunals have been criticized globally. On 13<sup>th</sup> June 2013, *The Guardian* reported that, '*British lawyers criticize Bangladeshi War Crimes Tribunal and appealed to United Nations to intervene*' <sup>555</sup>. Accordingly, the *Huffington Post* reported that, '*The so called International Crimes Tribunal is at the Heart of Oppression and Unrest in Bangladesh*' <sup>556</sup>. The trials have also been criticized by international human rights groups such as the Annesty International and the Human Rights Watch. Champa Patel, director of Amnesty International's South Asian Regional Office, commenting on ICT stated, '*the death penalty is always a human rights violation, but its use is even more troubling when the execution follows a flawed process*' <sup>557</sup>. Similarly, Phil Robertson, deputy director of Human Rights Watch's Asia Division remarked, "*Human Rights Watch supports accountability for war crimes but the Bangladesh government seems determined to cut corners on the process, and then prescribe the death penalty, which we oppose in all cases as irreversible, and inherently cruel and degrading* <sup>558</sup>. Additionally, United Nations Human Rights Office reportedly voiced concerns and urged Bangladesh to ensure fair trials for past crimes<sup>559</sup>. The World Justice Project, a US-based non-profit group stated in its report that, '*Bangladesh Courts are extremely inefficient and corrupt*' <sup>560</sup>

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554 Ibid, p.112
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555 "British Lawyers criticize Bangladesh war crimes tribunal" 13<sup>th</sup> June 2013, the Guardian, (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/13/lawyer-criticisesbangladeshitribunal) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016

556 The so called International Crimes Tribunal is at the Heart of Oppression and Unrest in Bangladesh, Huffpost Politics, 11<sup>th</sup>, November, 2015, (http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/lord-carlile/bangladeshs-democraticba b 8521962.html) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

557 Bangladesh War Crimes Execution Triggers Mixed Reaction, Voice of America 11<sup>th</sup> May,2016, (http://www.voanews.com/content/bangladesh-war-crime-executiontriggers-mixed-reactions/3326858.html) accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

Ahmer Bilal Soofi, a prominent international lawyer in one of his opinion article lambasted the ICT and its trails. He remarked, 'These trials have been marred by consistent miscarriage of justice in breach of International Law norms and Standards' <sup>561</sup>. He further argued, 'the trials are a serious violation of fair trial and due process guarantees enriched in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Bangladesh is a party. By conducting these trails, Bangladesh is responsible under international law for directly breaching at least 11 Articles for the ICCPR (Articles 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18 and 26)' <sup>562</sup>. Commenting on the legal angle of the ICT Soofi argued that, 'from a legal standpoint, the trials have been blighted by, inter alia, denial of the accused person's right to bail; limited rights to appeal capital and life convictions; pro-prosecution bias; capital convictions based on hurriedly enacted retrospective legislation; and arbitrary limitation on production of defense witnesses and documents' 563. Such legal flaws clearly demonstrate that these trials were formulated only to punish Jamaate-Islami for supporting the idea of united Pakistan.

Apart from India which supports the controversial ICT, many countries have criticized the holding of such trials. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan named Motiur Rahman Nizami as a 'martyr' and lashed out at Europe for its silence and stated, 'If you are against political executions, why did you remain silent to the execution of Motiur Rahman Nizami who was martyred a couple of days ago. . . . . Have you heard anything from Europe? ... No. Isn't it called double standards? '564 Further, in protest Turkey also recalled her ambassador from Bangladesh<sup>565</sup>. Similarly the Pakistani government also showed concerns on the execution of the Jamaat-e-Islami leaders. In a statement Foreign Office spokesman stated, 'The act of suppressing the opposition by killing their leaders through flawed trials is completely against the spirit of democracy' 566. In a nutshell, the entire civilized world has lambasted the trials, because of being against the basic human rights and spirit of democracy.

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558 lbid.
559 UN human rights expert urges Bangladesh to ensure fair trials for past crimes, UN News Centre, 7<sup>th</sup> February 2013, (http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44089#) accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2016.
560 Wright, Tom, Bangladesh War- Crimes Tribunal Bogs Down, The Wall Street Journal, 20<sup>th</sup> December 2012, (http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887323777204578189153918592308)
561 Bangladesh on trial, Ahmed Bilal Soofi, Dawn, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 2016, (http://www.dawn.com/news/1259012) accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.
562 lbid.
563 lbid.
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Hasina's Third Tenure: (2014 to Present)

In another political gimmick, AL backed the High Court in August 2013, when it gave a decision which cancelled the Jamaat's registration with the Election Commission and thus barred Jamaat from participation in the upcoming elections of 2014567. Before going for elections in 2014, the AL neutralized the Jamaat by banning it and constitutionally omitting the National Caretaker Government to assure its influence in the upcoming elections and thus sidelined BNP. As predicted by the pundits of AL, BNP boycotted the election of 2014 and stated that, 'The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) says that it will not participate unless the vote is held under the auspices of a neutral government' 568. The government did not pay any heed to BNP's concerns and elections took place on 5<sup>th</sup> January 2014. India endorsed and provided financial support to AL. According to Indian media reports, Indian intelligence agencies had provided a sum of thousand (1,000) crore rupees to AL for its election campaign<sup>569</sup>. With a massive majority and without any effective opposition, Sheikh Hasina formed her second consecutive government on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2014.

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564 Double Standers, Erdogan blasts Europe's Silence on Bangladesh leader execution, Dawn 15<sup>th</sup> May 2016, (http://www.dawn.com/news/1258505) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016.
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<sup>567</sup> Jamat losses registration, bdnews24.com1<sup>st</sup> August, 2013

http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2013/08/01/jamaat-registration-cancelled

<sup>568</sup> Bangladesh's bitter election boycott, BBC.com<sup>3rd</sup> January

2014,(http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25588564)

<sup>569</sup> Afrasiab, 1971: Fact and Fiction, Makhdoom Printing press Lahore, 2015, p. 184-185.

To woo the military and avoid its interference, the AL has fulfilled all its demands. For example in the last few years the government has doubled the military budget which has now crossed the amount of \$2 billion. The Hasina-led government has allocated new cantonments and buying of MiGs, submarines and subsidized weaponry from Russia and China570. According to Bengali political commentators, the AL government has taken over complete control of the military, not by using power but by sharing money571.

Her third tenure is more tyrannical and aggressive. The government is following the politics of vengeance and is busy crushing all possible opponents. Owing to her dictatorial regime Sheikh Hasina is allegedly named as 'Lady Hitler' by her political opponents- Khaleda  $Zia^{572}$ .

The members of major political parties are fugitives owing to the government's attitude. Since December 2013, five high-ranked opposition leaders have been executed for war crimes including the Jamaat leader, Motiur Rahman Nizami, who was executed on  $10^{th}$  May 2016 as stated earlier  $^{573}$ . Similarly, a sedition case is being pursued against Khaleda Zia - the chairperson of BNP under the charges of passing 'malicious comments' against the martyrs of 1971 insurgency574. She has reportedly shown concerns on the controversy over the figure about the people killed in 1971.

Liberation War Denial Crimes Act and the Myth of Three Million

The government of Hasina has formulated another controversial law entitled as 'Liberation War Denial Crimes Act' which is inspired by Europe's Holocaust denial laws. The enacted law would criminalize any inquiry on the number of deaths that occurred in the insurgency of 1971. Basically, it has been a constructed myth that during the nine months between Operation Searchlight and the dismemberment of Pakistan, 3 million Bengali people were killed by the Pakistani army. Such a calculated myth is propagated to increase hatred against Pakistan. Since the creation of Bangladesh it is propagated that the Pakistani army: exclusively made up of West Pakistani soldiers had killed 3 million Bengalis and raped 200,000 Bengali women. This genocide was committed as a punishment for their ethno-linguistic identity. Around the world people including many Pakistanis and Indians believe in this distorted version as propagated by the Indian and Bangladeshi governments.

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570 Mallet, Victor, Bangladesh army funded to forget its role as neutral referee, Financial Times, 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 April, 2015 00144feab7de accessed on 11th June 2016.
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571 Ibid

- 573 BBC.com, Motiur Rahman Nizami: Bangladeshi Islamist leader hanged (http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36261197)
- 574 Treason case filed against Bangladesh PM Khaleda Zia, The Indianexpress January
- 25, 2016 ( (http://indianexpress.com/article/world/world-news/treason-case-filedagainst-former-bangladesh-pm-khaleda-zia/)

The need is to investigate this highly exaggerated figure of 3 million killings. The origin of the 3-million myth can be traced back to December 1971 when *Pravda*, the Soviet newspaper, in its editorial of  $23^{rd}$  December 1971 entitled *Enemy Occupation* reported that deaths in the War of 1971 is about 3 million<sup>575</sup>. Soon this figure emerged in the Bangladeshi media and was widely distributed in Bangladesh. This figure was widely accepted after it was endorsed by Mujib in his interview with David Frost (a famous British journalist) on 18th January 1972. Answering a query he asserted, '*Three million people have been killed, including children, women, intellectuals, peasants, workers, students*' 576. Responding on the question of sources he further remarked, '*Before my coming, my people had started collecting the information. I have messages coming from all areas where I have a base. We have not finally concluded, it might be more, but definitely it will not be less than three million' 577. Since then the figure given by Mujib remains untouched.* 

There have been various sources and intellectuals who have rejected this highly exaggerated figure. For instance, Sayyid A. Karim, Bangladesh's first foreign secretary expressed the view, 'As for the number of Bengalis killed in the course of the liberation war, the figure of 3 million mentioned by Mujib to David Frost in January 1972, was a gross overstatement. This figure was picked up by him from an article in 'Pravda' the organ of the communist party of the Soviet Union '578. Likewise Sarmila Bose an Indian origin Bengali scholar in her book Dead Reckoning writes, '...... the number of 'three million' appears to be nothing more than a gigantic rumour'. 579 She further writes, 'it appears possible to estimate with reasonable confidence that at least 50,000-100,000 people perished in the conflict in East Pakistan in 1971, including combatant, non-combatants, Bengalis, and nonBengalis, Hindus and Muslims, Indian and Pakistanis. Casualty figures crossing one hundred thousand are with the realm of possible, but beyond that one enters a world of meaningless speculation' 580. William Drummond, the staff writer of Los Angeles Times in 1972 was forced out of his job because he exposed the genocide of 3 million Bengalis being a lie which was always repeated by Mujib. In the judgment of Drummond, which was based on numerous

<sup>565</sup> Turkey recalls ambassador from Bangladesh to protest Jamat leader's execution, Dawn 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2016 http://www.dawn.com/news/1257938 accessed on 12th June 2016.

<sup>566</sup> Pakistan accuses Bangladesh oh 'killing' opposition leaders through flawed trials, Dawn 11<sup>th</sup> May 2016, http://www.dawn.com/news/1257686 accessed on 12th June 2016.

<sup>572</sup> Lady Hitler is ruling the country: Dhaka Tribune November 2, 2015 (http://www.dhakatribune.com/politics/2015/nov/02/khlaeda-lady-hitler-runningcountry)

trips around Bangladesh beginning in December (1971) and based on an extensive discussion with many people at the village level as well as in the government, 'the figure of 3 million deaths is an exaggeration so gross as to be absurd... no more than 25,000 people died '581. The myth was also propagated by the Indian establishment. Accordingly Professor Gary J. Bass- professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University in his book, Blood Telegram, narrates, '.....these were terrible human losses...A senior Indian official put the Bengali death toll at three hundred thousand....Swaran Singh (Foreign Minister of India) quickly claimed that a million people had been killed in Bangladesh '582. Swedish Journalist Ingvar Oja who witnessed the surrender at Dhaka on 16th December 1971, in an article published on 1st March 1973 in Dagens Nyheter (the largest daily newspaper of Stockholm) writes, 'The allegations regarding the killings of three million people are highly exaggerated' <sup>583</sup>. Brigadier Asif Haroon, a Pakistani defence analyst, who also participated in the 1971 insurgency, argued, 'Sheikh Mujib's atrocious claim of three million Bengalis killed by Pak army in 1971 was a falsehood of unprecedented proposition...After March 1972, the field investigators of Mujib's own government could collect only about (2,000) two thousand complaints from citizens of death at the hands of Pakistan soldiers' 584.

575 See "Bangladesh War Crimes Tribunal Sayedee indictment- 1971 deaths" David Bergman, http://bangladeshwarcrimes.blogspot.com/2011/11/sayedee-indictmentanalysis-1971-death.html November 11, 2011.

576 See Excerpt of "Bangabandhu's interview by David Frost" The David Frost Show, telecasted WNEW-TV,

http://www.thedailystar.net/sites/default/files/upload2014/gallery/pdf/bangabandhus-interview-full-version.pdf 18<sup>th</sup> January 1972. <sup>577</sup> Ibid,

- <sup>578</sup> Bangladesh War Crimes Tribunal Savedee indictment 1971 deaths" David Bergman, 1971 deaths" David Bergman, death.html November 11, 2011.
- 579 Bose, Sarmila, Dead Rockoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War, C.Hurst & Co., London, p. 177.
- <sup>580</sup> Ibid, p.181.
- <sup>581</sup> Mirza, Loraine, *Internment Camps of Bangladesh*, Crescent International, Canada 1998, p. 135-137.
- 582 Bass, J Cary, The Blood Telegram-India Secret War in East Pakistan, Random House Publishers Noida Indian, 2013,p. 322.
- 583 The Financial Express, Dhaka dated 13 December 2010 (vlex.in/vid/232323267) accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.

Serajur Rehman, the former deputy head of BBC Bangla Program in the UK, in a letter to *The Guardian* dated 24th May 2011 narrates, 'On 8th January 1972 I was the first Bangladeshi to meet independence leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman after his release from Pakistan ......During the day I and others gave him the full picture of the war. I explained that no accurate figure of the casualties was available but our estimate, based on information from various sources, was that up to "three lakh" (300,000) died in the conflict. To my surprise and horror he told David Frost later that "three millions of my people" were killed by the Pakistanis. Whether he mistranslated "lakh" as "million" or his confused state of mind was responsible I don't know, but many Bangladeshis still believe a figure of three million is unrealistic and incredible' <sup>585</sup>.

Mujib's government had formulated a twelve member Inquiry Committee on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1972. The members of the committee included 586;

Abdur Rahim, Deputy Inspector General of Police, was appointed the chairman of the Inquiry Committee and the members included:

Prof. Khurshed Alam. MCA (Comilla):

Mr Mahmud Hussain Khan, MCA (Bogra);

Mr Abdul Hafiz, MCA (Jessore);

Mr Mohiuddin Ahmed, member National Awami Party (NAP);

Mr Jalaluddin Miah, former Superintendent of Police; Mr Muhammed Ali, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture;

Mr T. Hussain, Superintending Engineer,

Mr Muhiuddin, Director of Public Instructions;

Dr Mubarrak Hussain, Deputy Director, Health,

Wing Commander K. M. Islam, Bangladesh Air Force; and Mr M. A. Hye, Deputy Secretary, Establishment Division, Ministry of Home Affairs.

584 http://www.opinion-makers.org/2013/04/bangladesh 9th April 2013, accessed on

11<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.

 $^{585}$  Mujib's confusion on Bangladeshi death Serajur Rehman

(https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/24/mujib-confusion-on-bangladeshideaths) 24<sup>th</sup> May, 2011, accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.

586 Chowdhury, Abdul Mumin, Behind the Myth of Three Million, Al-Hilal Publishers, London, p, 24.

The Inquiry Committee was asked to submit their report on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1972. In its final report, the Committee failed to support the exaggerated figure of 3 million. According to the sources, the final draft submitted to the government mentioned an overall causality figure of 56,743. Accordingly, when a copy of this draft was presented to Mujib, he lost his temper and threw the draft on the floor and stated,

'I have declared three million dead, and your report could not come up with three score thousand! What report you have prepared? Keep your report to yourself. What I have said once shall prevail' 587.

Later, in January 1972, a Compensation Scheme was also formulated for the families of those who had been killed in the course of insurgency. Two thousand (2,000) taka was promised for the victims. This effort also failed to provide any support to the myth of 3 million. According to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Bangladesh only 72,000 claims were received in which 50,000 families were awarded the deceased's compensation<sup>588</sup>.

All the above-mentioned references endorse objections to the highly exaggerated figure of 3 million and justify the allegation that it is merely propaganda of the Bangladeshi government to garner legitimacy for their conspired Indian-supported cause of separation from united Pakistan. Hence the 'Liberation War Denial Crimes Act' is being enacted to give further legitimacy and creditability to the myth of 3 million. Such formulation of laws also demonstrates the intolerable nature of Hasina's regime.

Bangladesh: A soured dream

Prior to Bang ladesh's creation, as stated earlier the innocent Bengalis were made to believe that a new era of happiness, sovereignty, peace, and prosperity would welcome them once they are separated from Pakistan. This promulgated dream has never materialized. The poor Bengalis are forced to live under the shadows of poverty, where they are deprived of the basic human needs. Today's Bangladesh is marked by autocracy, oppression, nepotism, corruption, poverty, slavery, dependency, and violence. Here, a present-day sketch of Bangladesh is presented to elucidate the reality of Bangladesh's achievement of the dream of peace and prosperity.

In the international arena, Bangladesh is mostly recognized as a dependent and a vassal state of India. The agreement of 1971 between the provincial governments of Bangladesh and India and the Indira-Mujib pact of 1972 (both discussed in previous chapters) are a clear illustration of Bangladesh's dependency. In Mujib's tenure, another treaty was signed between India and Bangladesh, known as the *Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (Annexure-14)*, on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1972, at Dacca. The Articles 8, 9, and 10 are important to note in particular.

The Article 10, 'prohibits either party from making any alliance with any third party, whether secret or open'. The Articles 8 and 9 state that 'alliance with any third party, threatening to the interests of any one contracting party shall not happen'. The Articles clearly portray Indian vested interests which are protected in the Treaty, like for example, 'any Indian aggression over the neighbours should not be protested by Bangladesh'. The Articles also maintain, 'mutual protection of each contracting party', which is more beneficial to India than Bangladesh.

Bangladesh shares international borders with India, the case of begging protection from a country surrounding it from three sides seems entirely based on superiority. Bangladesh is deprived of its right to protest, with Indian hegemonic interests being served by friendly countries being bound with treaties of 'peace and friendship'. Indian hegemonic aspirations of absorbing small states into itself are evident from the case of the Indian aggression on Sikkim in 1975. It is more appropriate to say that Bangladesh had been a vassal state for India since the 'Peace and Friendship' – slavery and servitude – Treaty.

The US State Department in its 'Country Report on Terrorism 2013' has acknowledged this fact; it states, 'The foreign and domestic policies of Bangladesh are heavily influenced by the region's major powers, particularly India '589'. Even within Bangladesh, people have realized this reality. Former Director General DGFI (Bangladeshi Intelligence) Major General (Retd) M. A. Halim in an interview with Abu Rushd confessed that, 'Though India had extended a very important help during the liberation war of Bangladesh, but RAW wanted Bangladesh to be entirely dependent in all respect and the people of Bangladesh would be craving for the love of India '590'.

The Indian machinations after Pakistan's dismemberment did not halt but its agency R&AW remained active in Bangladesh. In presentday Bangladesh, R&AW is supporting and sponsoring the famous Chittagong Hill Tract insurgency within Bangladesh to keep the Bengali government under its dictates. In a story published in the *New York Times* on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1989, Sanjoy Hazarika, the Indian journalist narrated, "For more than a decade, India has secretly provided arms and money to tribal insurgents fighting for an autonomous state in Bangladesh, rebels given sanctuary in this border. A senior security official here confirmed the assistance and said an undetermined number of rebel fighters had stayed along the border near camps of Indian paramilitary forces.......A spokesman for the rebels said Indian officials began to provide arms and money in 1976, after the assassination in a military coup of Sheik Mujibur Rahman, Bangladesh's first President and a friend of India' 591.

Apart from the political interference, India also has a say in the military affairs of Bangladesh. For instance, Mian Afrasiab Qureshi in his book 1971: Fact and Fiction stated, 'senior military officers in Dhaka occasionally mention that many important promotions in the Bangladesh armed forces, take place with the specific approval of New Delhi. All this happens not only in the civilmilitary bureaucracy, but in the Bangladeshi cabinet as well' 592. As mentioned earlier, the electoral process in Bangladesh has also been influenced by the Indian establishment. Such events vividly demonstrate that since Bangladesh's creation, India has been interfering in the internal affairs of Bangladesh.

589 US: Bangladesh influenced by India, Dhaka Tribune, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014, (http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2014/may/01/bangladesh%E2%80%99spolicy-influenced-india) accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

<sup>590</sup> Rushd, Abu, Raw in Bangladesh-Portrait of an Aggressive Intelligence, Dhaka, 2005, p. 311-313.

Sharing his personal experience during his tenure as Pakistan's High Commissioner in Bangladesh Afrasiab narrates, 'During a visit to Sylhet, a retired Bangladeshi police officer requested a private meeting with me at the guest house where we were staying. After pleasantries, the old man started to discuss 1971. I avoided the discussion keeping in view the understandable sensitivities involved, but continued. At one point he remarked, "Now we understand, why India helped us to separate from Pakistan ...... Delhi never wanted to help..... They only wanted to break Pakistan...now we are helpless!' Although now it had been forty-five (45) years since the bloody borders were drawn between East and West Pakistan, the general masses on both spheres still have the same affiliation with each other which existed prior to December 1971. The general populaces of Bangladesh have finally now understood the Indian machinations and its interference in Bangladesh's affairs.

The Border Security Force of India which once opened its gate for the so-called refugees from East Pakistan today kills any person which crosses the border from Bangladesh. In the last few years, the brutal Indian Border Security Force (IBSF) has tortured and killed hundreds of Bangladeshis who dared to come close to the Indian border. Recently in May 2016, Shihab Uddin Sajal, only eighteen, was gunned down by the brutal BSF when he was plucking mangos from a tree near the Jibonnagar borders93.

Apart from being dependent on India, contemporary Bangladesh is marked by continued poverty, nepotism, corruption, illiteracy, slavery, inflation, and violence. According to the Asian Development Bank in Bangladesh, 31.5 per cent of the masses live below the poverty line which according to the reports remains the highest ratio among the South Asian states, likewise about 43.4 per cent of the populace aged fifteen and above years are unemployed and 31 out of 1,000 babies die before their first birthday<sup>594</sup>. The World Bank report of year 2015, suggests that the inflation rate in Bangladesh is 6.2 per cent which is one of the highest rates in the South-Asian region<sup>595</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Bangladeshi Insurgents Says India is supporting them, New York Time, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1989, (http://www.nytimes.com/1989/06/11/world/bangladeshi-insurgents-say-indiais-supporting-them.html) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> Afrasiab, 1971: Fact and Fiction, Makhdoom Printing press Lahore, 2015, p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> Indian border troopers gun downed Bangladeshi National, Asian Newsnetwork, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2016, (http://www.asianews.network/content/indian-border-troopers-gundownbangladeshi-national-16948)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> Basic 2016 statistics, April 2016, Asian Development Bank, (http://www.adb.org/countries/bangladesh/poverty) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2016. <sup>595</sup> Inflation, Consumer price, World Bank, (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG) accessed on 10<sup>th</sup>, June 2016

According to 'Human Rights Watch' report entitled *Nepotism and Neglect* published in April 2016, 'An estimated forty-three thousand (43,000) people die each year from arsenic related illness in Bangladesh' 596. It is also reported that 20 million people are exposed to life-threatening arsenic in water. The World Health Organization (WHO) has called it one of the 'largest mass-poisonings of a population in history' 597.

According to a feature in *Daily Star*, 'there are an estimated, 3.45 million working children, aged between 5 and 17, in Bangladesh'598. Similarly, according to the Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum, a Child Rights Forum, from January to April 2016, 'At least 95 children were killed and 138 minor girls raped' <sup>599</sup>. The Global Slavery Index published by the Walk Free Foundation ranked Bangladesh 10<sup>th</sup> out of 167 countries with 1,531,300 estimated numbers living in modern slavery<sup>600</sup>.

In the political arena, Bangladesh is marked by continued political instability, corruption, violence, and agitation. The country is being ruled by two parties-BNP and AL since 1990, and both have contributed to spreading chaos within the Bengali society. The political instability can be gauged by the fact that since 1990s, nineteen failed coups had been attempted to overthrow the governments. The current government under the fascist AL has been one of the most tyrannical and oppressive government in Bangladesh's history. The population has lost faith in the prevailing political situation and according to UNDP only 10 per cent of Bangladesh's population is confident that the political situation could improve<sup>601</sup>. Such a decreasing confidence level is an illustration of government's inefficiency. The AL government has been successful in crushing the opposition parties. In recent times, Bangladesh is facing a serious wave of killings, where bloggers, journalists, professors, members of opposition parties, and members from minority communities are being killed in broad daylight. In response to these killings, the government is targeting the opposition parties and in a written statement, BNP Senior Joint Secretary General, Rizvi Ahmed claimed that, 'over 7,000 people were arrested during the ongoing drive. Of them, more than 2,100 people are BNP's ward, union and thana-level leaders and activists '<sup>602</sup>. The government has curbed the freedom of media and journalists who disagree with the government policies. According to the US Human Rights report the Bangladeshi government has failed to protect the freedom of speech and the media<sup>603</sup>.

- 596 Nepotism and Neglect: The Failing Response to Arsenic in the Drinking Water of Bangladesh's Rural Poor, Human Rights Watch, Dhaka, 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2016 (https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/06/bangladesh-20-million-drink-arsenic-lacedwater) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.
- <sup>597</sup> Twenty million people in Bangladesh still drinking arsenic-tainted water, DW, 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2016, (http://www.dw.com/en/twenty-million-in-bangladesh-still-drinkingarsenic-tainted-water/a-19166617) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016.
- 598 Child laborers in Bangladesh toiling for a mere living, Daily Star, 12 June,2016 (http://www.asianews.network/content/feature-child-labourers-bangladesh-toilingmere-living-19460) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.
- 599 At least 95 children killed, 138 girls raped, Asian News Network, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2016. ((months-17436) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup>, June 2016.
- 600 Bangladesh, the Global Slavery Index, Walk Free Foundation, 2016,

(http://www.globalslaveryindex.org/country/bangladesh/) accessed on 16th June 2016

All in all, the utopian dream of 'Amar Sonar Bangla' which was widely utilized to garner general support against united Pakistan ended as being only rhetoric. The dream by the Bengali populace culminated in a nightmare where now they are politically, economically, and socially oppressed and exploited by their own leaders and by India.

- 601 People have little faith in Bangladesh politics: UNDP, the Daily Star, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2016, (http://www.asianews.network/content/people-have-little-faith-bangladesh-politicsundp-19093) accessed on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2016.
- 602 Over 2,100 BNP men held during spl crackdown: Rizvi, Daily Star, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2016, (http://www.thedailystar.net/politics/over-2000-bnp-men-held-during-spl-crackdownrizvi-1238911) accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2016.
- $^{603}$  Bangladesh government failed to protect the freedom of speech and media, Asian News network,  $^{16}$ th April 2016, http://www.asianews.network/content/bangladeshgovt-failed-protect-press-freedom-us-human-rights-report-14534 accessed on  $^{15}$ th June, 2016.

# 8

# **WAY FORWARD Introduction**

# U

ntil last year when the Indian Prime Minister Modi proudly, albeit outrageously, admitted India's role in the dismemberment of Pakistan, it was a fact hidden under layers and

layers of Indian and Bengali propaganda. In an address at Dhaka

University on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2015, he said, 'Indian soldiers fought alongside Bengali guerrilla and regular armed resistance forces during the nine-month war.' <sup>604</sup>

Pakistan on its part responded when Sartaj Aziz, Prime Minister's Advisor on Foreign Affairs, said, 'Pakistan will take all possible steps to expose India's role in the breakup of East Pakistan in 1971 and its threat to destabilize Pakistan through terrorism." <sup>605</sup> But these steps still remain a mystery.

Since 1971, it has been intellectually fashionable to claim that Pakistan Army while fighting the insurgents, killed millions of Bengalis and raped many women. The Bengali narrative spun the yarn and convinced the world that the Indian-funded insurgency against the 'imperialism' of Punjab was a genuine, home-grown freedom movement.

Although Modi's admission to India's crime has somewhat exposed the true face of India, the Bengalis are still not prepared to accept the facts that insurgency in East Pakistan was funded by India and the Mukti Bahini. The Mukti Bahini was predominantly populated by Indian army soldiers, some of which were of Bengali

descent who had deserted the Pakistan army. They reject the fact that the Pakistan Army, though limited in number and short on logistic resources, fought the enemy with gallantry.

604 The Press Trust of India, The Indian Express, June 9, 2015 605 Ibid.

This is not a claim of Pakistan's complete innocence, or that its army did not commit any injustices during the insurgency, rather it is an attempt to direct allegations where they are due. The real facts remain shrouded in misunderstandings, as a consequence of political manipulation, even after the passage of almost half a century. The narrative disseminated by the Indian and the Bangladeshi governments largely prevails.

In this Chapter, it is attempted to chart a strategy for Pakistan to deal with the continuing issues of 1971; the lingering issue of the stranded Biharis in Bangladesh, the need for Pakistan to take a stand against the injustice and illegality of the War Crime Tribunals and the War Crimes Denial Act, and last but not the least, the essentiality of Pakistan to cultivate good relations with Bangladesh and establish a mutually- acceptable, logical narrative of the events of 1971.

# Repatriation of the Biharis

Inception of the Bihari Problem

During the partition of British-India in 1947, around 1 million Urdu speaking Muslims from the present-day Indian provinces of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan moved to erstwhile East Pakistan. To their disappointment, when they arrived in East Pakistan, leaving behind their possessions, their familiar environment, and professions, they felt alienated in the new society in terms of language, customs, traditions, and culture.

Although speakers of P akistan's official language, Urdu, they found themselves a minority in the majority Bengali-speaking East Pakistan. These differences resulted in the Biharis identifying with West Pakistan whose dominance over the Pakistani state assured them of receiving greater privileges from the central government. While Bengalis were overwhelmingly employed in the agricultural sector, the Biharis, as full citizens of Pakistan, came to be involved in the industrial sector, small businesses, trade, and commerce.606

The Bihari community never fully assimilated with the local populace and maintained alliance with the West Pakistani regimes. They supported the adoption of Urdu as the official language of Pakistan, whereas the language of the majority of East Pakistan was Bengali, and opposed the Bengali language movement in 1952. They also supported the issues of United Pakistan in the national and provincial elections in 1970.<sup>607</sup>

606 Z. Haider, "Repatriation of the Biharis Stranded in Bangladesh: Diplomacy and Development," Asian Profile, Vol. 31, No.6, 2003, p 528)

During the 1971 war, the Biharis as the Urdu-speaking people of non-Bengali origin, collaborated with the central government and opposed the Bengali uprising. When Bangladesh was finally established, the Biharis wanted to go to West Pakistan, but could not do so immediately due to the complications of the repatriation process leaving them stranded in Bangladesh. They were promised repatriation to Pakistan, but this promise has not been materialized.

Biharis as Refugees

The stranded Biharis in Bangladesh suffer from an identity crisis, because they are viewed as 'foreigners' (Pakistanis) and remain unassimilated in the Bengali society. They have been temporarily accommodated, since fortyfive years, in 'refugee camps', but are still denied of the rights and amenities extended to refugees.

According to the Article 6(A) (1) of the Statute of UNHCR and Article 1(A) (2) of the Refugee Convention 1951, a 'refugee' is a person who meets the following three criteria: (a) the person is outside the country of his nationality, or in the case of stateless persons, outside the country of habitual residence; (b) the person lacks natural protection; and (c) the person fears persecution.

The Bihari community in Bangladesh does not meet the above criteria for a refugee. They are ethnically different as they speak a different language and maintain Bihari cultural values, even though they practice the same religion as the Bengali majority.

The Biharis have a peculiar status which is 'artificial', rendering them neither refugees nor minorities. It is, indeed, an ersatz status, because it is an unprecedented synthesis of being the product of the historical legacy of 1947 and of the political context of 1971. This misfortune has damned them to the existence of demeaned living in artificially designated areas (camps) under international agreements. Yet, they are literally a 'minority' as they are insignificant in proportion to the Bengali population. This arrangement has separated them, since Partition, from the rest of the society with an artificial identity. As noted earlier, due to their identity crisis the Biharis were deprived of both the citizenship privileges and benefits of the refugee status recognized by the international community. Consequently, they suffer the unfair impact of this unwanted and unresolved identity in their social and economic lives.

607 Ibid, p. 529
608 UNHCR, Article 6(A) (1) of the Stature and Article 1(A) of the Refugee Convention
1951.

Socio-Economic Conditions of the Stranded Biharis

The ethnic identity 'Bihari' has a derogatory meaning in Bangladesh. Since the Biharis are believed to have opposed the independence of Bangladesh, and had sided with the Pakistani government in 1971, they had to bear enormous social, economic, and political consequences immediately after the creation of Bangladesh.

Overpopulation, lack of basic facilities, and poverty are the primary problems in the Bihari refugee camps. From 1971 to 1979, the Biharis had almost doubled in number due to the high birth rate in the camps. 609 According to a survey report of 1992, a total of 238,093 Biharis lived in 66 different camps throughout Bangladesh. The number of residents has farther risen over time and created an extreme population density, as the number of camps has remained unchanged since their construction in 1972. In 2008, it was reported that the population figure has increased to approximately 300,000 people.610

The living conditions in the camps are deplorable; they are unhealthy, dirty, damp, and unhygienic. The camp authorities are neither capable, nor eager to

maintaining healthy and sanitary conditions in the camps. The drainage system is extremely poor leading to the spread of contagious diseases; diarrhoea and dengue are especially common. This exists in almost all the camps throughout the country. The municipalities/city corporations' cleaners never enter the camps to clear the garbage, rather only the dustbins outside the camps are collected by the authorities. Thus, the responsibility of cleanliness rests on the shoulders of the camp dwellers.

In addition, the camp dwellers share a few common bathrooms and toilets, which are insufficient for the astronomical number of people residing there. To make the already bad situation worse, the camps lack sufficient medical facilities, making camp dwellers misery completely tragic.<sup>611</sup>

609 Dhaka Courier, 7 December, 1979
 610 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2003 (2004)

The Bihari camps have no free educational facilities. In many cases, if the families want to send their children to schools outside the camps, they fail to enrol because of some concocted technical requirements such as nationality, home address, or parents' occupation. Though some of them manage to enrol under false pretences, they find it very difficult to continue hiding facts. When the school authority becomes aware of the student's residence in the camps, he/she is immediately dismissed. In a few cases, those who are studying outside their community schools are basically successful in hiding their Bihari identity. 612

The schooling facilities inside the camps are totally inadequate. There are a total of 55,000 families in various camps throughout the country with the average number of members in a family being five. The current number of schools in the camps across the country is only 500. It is reported that only 1 per cent of the Bihari children attend school, which reflects the high rate of illiteracy in the camps. The Biharis are also not getting any kind of assistance from the government for their children's education.

The economic condition of the Biharis is extremely poor because of their financial insecurity and lack of economic opportunities. During the initial years they were mainly dependent on the relief given to them, but over the years the amount of relief has decreased significantly. It is reported that the Bangladeshi government used to spend about US\$ 250,000 a month to provide basic needs to them which in itself was inadequate. However, recently this support has significantly reduced and in some cases, stopped. There was a monthly distribution of relief materials provided by the government in the Bihari camps, but this program has been aborted in most of the camps. In the camps, where the program is still going on, such as the Adamjee camps in Narayanganj and five out of twenty-two camps in Saidpur, they get 2.5 kilograms of wheat instead of the officially approved 3.35 kilograms; this distribution is also very irregular. In addition, the non-governmental organizations also provide some food aid. For instance, the Bangladesh Red Crescent Society (BDRCS) gives a small amount of food aid to each family. Yet, it is reported that this food aid is also inadequate with the ever rising demand.613

611 Kazi Fahmida Farzana, The Neglected Stateless Bihari Community in Bangladesh: Victims of Political and Diplomatic Onslaught, Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol 2, Issue 1, 2008, pp 7

612 Bose, T.K. and Manchanda, R. "States, Citizens and Outsides – The Uprooted People of South Asia," South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR).

People in the camps are confined to the camp boundary and do not own any land outside the camps. As the economy of the country is basically agro-based, land ownership is essential, which the Biharis do not possess. The economic conditions of the camps located outside Dacca are particularly poor, because employment opportunities in the surrounding agricultural activities are limited. People in camps are compelled to remain involved in various activities within the camp boundary. Whereas, the camp dwellers in the Dacca city can sometimes attain work on daily wages such as the rickshaw pullers and construction workers, facing discrimination and harassment.

In an interview with Refugees International, one young rickshaw puller in Dacca said that he earns 100 taka a day. After the end of the day, he pays 40 taka to the owner and the rest 60 taka (about \$1.00) is his earnings to feed his family, usually on average of five members.614 Most Biharis work on daily wages with no job security and unlimited susceptibility to the exploiting elements of landlords, employers, etc. of the Bengali community, who often victimize them for economic reasons.

Politics of Repatriation

In 1972-73, the Bangladeshi government offered the Biharis two options: either to remain in Bangladesh as citizens or return to Pakistan through the repatriation process to be handled by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Two-thirds of the Bihari people opted to return to Pakistan through ICRC as they wanted to avoid an uncertain future. But from the very beginning, government of Pakistan was reluctant to receive and settle this large number of Biharis.

613 Khan, S. "Pakistanis in Bangladesh: Stuck in Alien Nation," One World South Asia,

21 November, 2003.

614 Lynch, M. and Cook, T. "Stateless Biharis in Bangladesh: A Humanitarian Nightmare," Refugees International Bulletin, 13 December, 2004

One year after the creation of Bangladesh, the unmanageable situation of the Biharis led the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, to bring the issue before the UN and requested the Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, to extend his help to ensure their repatriation. But Bhutto's government, from the very beginning, was reluctant to repatriate the Urdu-speaking Biharis due to domestic resistance and political considerations. In 1973, the UNHCR became involved in this issue and took practical initiatives under a 'repatriation program'. The ICRC also worked alongside the UNHCR.

They gathered these people in different camps for their safety and registered them for possible repatriation to Pakistan. The Simla Accord of July 1972 normalized the relationship between India and Pakistan, which eventually allowed New Delhi to take the initiative of influencing Dacca to settle the trilateral problems between India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Subsequently, the Indian and Pakistani governments, with the agreement of the Bangladeshi government, signed the New Delhi Agreement on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1973.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1973-Accord, several phases of repatriation took place. From 1973 to April 1974, with the help of the ICRC around 170,000 Biharis were repatriated to Pakistan for the first time.615 After the initial repatriation, government of Pakistan expressed reluctance to accept the liability of the large number of the remaining Biharis for repatriation. In June 1974, during the MujibBhutto talks in Bangladesh, Mujib requested Bhutto to take back immediately all stranded people who opted to return to Pakistan. But Bhutto refused to take the responsibility by saying, 'I have not come to Bangladesh with a blank cheque'. 616

Due to the economic pressure, Mujib took the case seriously and raised the issue in the Third World Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in December 1974 and the Commonwealth leader's conference in Jamaica in May 1975. But his diplomatic initiative did not achieve a positive result. Moreover, his assassination in 1975 slowed down the diplomatic efforts for the Bihari repatriation even further.

After the Mujib regime, the military government of General Ziaur Rehman restarted the diplomatic efforts with his Pakistani counterpart to solve the issue of the stranded Biharis. Following his visit to Pakistan in 1977, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary visited Dacca and agreed to take 25,000 'hardship cases' through the international agencies. Subsequently, 4,790 people out of 25,000 were repatriated to Pakistan. 617 But the whole process was halted because of Pakistan's internal political instability.

In July 1978, the Bangladeshi Foreign Secretary visited Pakistan and urged the officials to reactivate the repatriation process. But this time, the Pakistani government reduced the number of Biharis from 25,000 to 16,000.<sup>618</sup> With the help of the UNHCR, another 2800 Biharis were repatriated in September 1979. It was financed by Saudi Arabia and Libya. During this time, a former British Parliament Member (MP), Lord Ennals played an important role in handling the problems of the stranded Biharis. In 1980, he met the presidents of Bangladesh and Pakistan, President Ziaur Rehman and President Ziaul Haq respectively, which resulted in an eventual repatriation of another 7,000 Biharis.619

Later, due to the initiative of Lord Ennals, the Geneva based International Council of Voluntary Agencies organized a conference in Geneva in December 1982, which is commonly known as the Geneva Conference. During the conference, twelve different national and international organizations from different countries including Bangladesh attended but none from Pakistan. In this conference, the stranded Biharis expressed their strong desire to be repatriated to Pakistan. Consequently, Lord Ennals established an international resettlement trust to finance the resettlement of the Biharis. After a series of different diplomatic initiatives an important development took place in 1983, when President Ziaul Haq publicly announced in Karachi that Pakistan would not have any reservations about the repatriation of stranded Biharis from Bangladesh, if the necessary funds were to be provided by the donors.

- 617 Hafiz, M.A. "BangladeshPakistan Relations: Still developing?" BIISS Journal (Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies), 1985, p. 369
- $618\ Haider, Z.\ "Repatriation of the\ Biharis\ Stranded\ in\ Bangladesh: Diplomacy\ and\ Development,"\ Asian\ Profile,\ Vol.\ 31,\ No.6,\ December,\ 2003,\ p.\ 534$
- 619 Ennals, L. "Biharis in Bangladesh: The Third Great Migration?" Journal of Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, London, 1987, 243

Mr Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, foreign minister of Pakistan, paid an official visit to Dacca in early 1984 and said after the conference that Pakistan was thinking about accepting 50,000 more Biharis according to the second Delhi Agreement. In the meantime, with the financial support of Lord Ennal's Resettlement Trust, 6,000 Biharis were repatriated and resettled in Lahore in 1984. But Pakistan's slow progress tested Bangladesh's patience again, coercing Bangladesh to raise the issue again in the Islamic Countries Foreign Ministers' Conference (ICFM) in Sana'a in December 1984, requesting them to put pressure on Pakistan to take back its people (Biharis) from Bangladesh to Pakistan.

These diplomatic efforts did not fare well. Rather, in December 1985, President Ziaul Haq during his visit to Dacca told a delegation of the stranded Biharis that Pakistan had already 'fulfilled its legal obligation under the agreement signed in 1973 and further repatriation would only depend on the availability of huge resources required'. 621

In this situation, the Pakistani government signed an agreement with the Saudi-based humanitarian organization Rabita Al-Alam-AlIslami (RAAI), in July 1986. Later, they established a trust together, named Rabita Trust Deed, and appointed President Ziaul Haq as chairman to mobilize funds for the repatriation of the remaining 250,000 stranded Biharis from Bangladesh. Initially, the Pakistani Government donated Rs. 250 million, while the RAAI contributed Rs. 50 million. The expectation was that the remaining required expenditure would be collected within three years and the repatriation would start immediately after that. Unfortunately, the whole process stopped with the sudden death of President Ziaul Haq in 1988. Later, the Committee of the Trust was re-established in August 1989, with General Yakub Khan as its chairman, but it could not achieve any noteworthy success.

Benazir Bhutto, after becoming the prime minister of Pakistan in 1988, soon faced difficulties in resolving the issue of repatriation because of serious domestic challenges from her home province of Sind, where Biharis were supposed to be settled. Though, she promised to take immediate effective steps but her assurance proved ineffective.

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620 The Daily Ittefaq, 2 January 1985
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621 Haider, Z. "Repatriation of the Biharis Stranded in Bangladesh: Diplomacy and Development," Asian Profile, Vol. 31, No.6, December, 2003, p. 535

In the beginning of 1989, under the joint initiatives taken by the UNHCR and RAAI, the government of Pakistan agreed to repatriate another batch of 500 Biharis from Bangladesh. But at the same time, the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan explained that the collected money under the Rabita Trust Deed was only Rs. 300 million which was not sufficient for the total repatriation program.623 In addition to that, the Senate's adoption of a delayed motion on the issue contributed further to the delay of the repatriation process.

Benazir's government was under heavy pressure from various Sindhi nationalist organizations such as the Sindh National Alliance, the Awami National Party, the Sindh Student Federation, and the Democratic Students' Federation to oppose the process of repatriation of Biharis. The then, opposition leader and the Chief Minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif took advantage of Benazir's dilemma. All these factors influenced the Benazir's government. So, during her Dacca visit in 1989, she subtly avoided the stranded Pakistani issue by labelling it as a very complex problem. Afterwards, the domestic political developments in the respective countries hampered the progress of repatriation.

The settlement of the Bihari issue proved to be more complex during PM Nawaz Sharif's first tenure. Despite domestic opposition, Nawaz Sharif speeded up the process of repatriation within a year of taking over power. The Rabita Trust Board (RTB), under the chairmanship of Nawaz Sharif established three committees on 11th November 1991 to accelerate the repatriation process. It agreed that initially a batch of 325 Biharis of 63 families would be repatriated to start the 'symbolic repatriation' by 31st December 1992 and subsequently, repatriation would take place in phases as funds accord would be implemented and that an average of 8,000 repatriates would be settled in every district of Punjab.

However, because of the increasing domestic protests against the repatriation, the government of Pakistan could not keep its word to start 'symbolic

<sup>615</sup> Kazi Fahmida Farzana, The Neglected Stateless Bihari Community in Bangladesh: Victims of Political and Diplomatic Onslaught, Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2008, pp 13

 $<sup>^{616}\,</sup> Bird, K.\, and\, Goldmark, S.\, ``Dhaka\, and\, Bhutto: The\, Slow\, Thaw, ``Far\, Eastern\, Economic\, Review, Vol.\, 30, June,\, 1974$ 

repatriation' by 13<sup>th</sup> December 1992. In addition, the Pakistan High Commission in Dacca informed the Bangladesh Foreign Ministry on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1992 that because of extensive floods in the Punjab province, the process of repatriation would be suspended until January of the following year. The Punjab Chief Minister also postponed his earlier scheduled visit to Bangladesh. Subsequently, the 'symbolic repatriation' took place from the Adamjee camp with the help of Rabita Al-Alam-Al-Islami on 10th January 1993. At this time, a small group of 325 Biharis were repatriated to Pakistan after a long wait. Conversely, 'the symbolic repatriation was only the tip of the iceberg'. <sup>624</sup>

622 Kaushik, S.N. "Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations during Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif Regimes," Har-anand Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p. 196
623 The Muslim, 23 January 1989

This process came to a halt soon due to the dismisal of Nawaz Sharif's government in 1993. The process of repatriation further suffered a serious setback because of Benazir Bhutto's hard-line attitude during her second term in office. From the unhappy experience of her earlier tenure, the stranded Bihari community became deeply suspicious about the sincerity of Pakistan over early repatriation. The issue remained undecided during the second term of Nawaz Sharif in office, and it stopped making any progress at all after General Pervez Musharraf came to power.

Present Status

At present, it is generally estimated that there are more than 300,000 Biharis in Bangladesh, half of whom live in 116 camps all over the country. For several decades, successive governments of Bangladesh have been hosting the Biharis, who opted for repatriation to Pakistan but are left in Bangladesh, as refugees not as her citizens.

In 2003, in the case of *Abid Khan and others vs Government of Bangladesh* and others, a division bench of the High Court held that the ten Urduspeaking petitioners, born both before and after 1971, were Bangladeshi nationals pursuant to the Citizenship Act, 1951 and the Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provisions) Order, 1972, and thereby directed the government to register them as voters. The High Court further stated, quoting from an earlier case of Mukhtar Ahmed vs Govt. of Bangladesh and others — 'the mere fact that a person opts to migrate to another country cannot take away his citizenship'. 625

624 Kaushik, S.N. "Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations during Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif Regimes," Har-anand Publications, New Delhi, 1994, 209

The effect of the 2003 decision was limited to the 10 petitioners. Ultimately, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh confirmed that Biharis are citizens of Bangladesh in 2008, in the landmark decision of *Mohammad Sadaqat Khan and others vs Chief Election Commissioner*, the High Court Division Bench reaffirmed that all members of the Urduspeaking community who were minors during the 1971 war or were born after, were nationals of Bangladesh in accordance with its laws and directed the election commission to enrol the petitioners and other Urdu-speaking people who want to be enrolled in the electoral rolls and accordingly, give them a national identity card without any further delay.

The Election Commission swiftly issued national identity cards to any member of the Urdu-speaking community who applied for one and who met the legal and administrative requirements. The Urduspeaking community can no longer be viewed as stateless or a refugee, as they are considered to be nationals of Bangladesh. As per Article (6) of the constitution they are 'Bengalis' or 'Bangladeshis' not 'Biharis' or 'stranded Pakistanis'. They are entitled to apply for administrative and judicial remedies in accordance with the laws of Bangladesh, in the same manner as any other Bangladeshi citizen. Unfortunately, although the court ruling explicitly said that the Biharis were eligible to register to vote in the December 2008 elections, the Election Commission closed its rolls in August 2008 without enrolling them.626

As it stands, legally the Biharis are citizens of Bangladesh. But as a group they are socially and politically marginalized, and have long been ignored by both Pakistan and Bangladesh. For more than four decades they have been deprived of all the basic human rights. Particularly those living in camps have been facing social exclusion and severe discrimination in every aspect of life. Pakistan needs to make an extraneous effort to bring the Biharis back to their homeland or push the Bangladeshi government to accept them into the mainstream society.

625 Imtiaz Ahmad Sajjal, *The Plight of Biharis in Bangldesh* , The Daily Star, Published in Dawn on December 04, 2015 626 Thalndian News, *Bangladesh fails to register its Urdu Speaking citizens as voters* , August 16, 2008

# War Crime Tribunals

History

Following the end of the 1971 insurgency and war with India, the International War Crimes (Tribunal) Act, 1973 was passed by the newly created state of Bangladesh to try persons accused of committing atrocities during the war. Of the thousands of Pakistani prisoners of war (POWs), only 195 were identified, after investigation, as potentially culpable of crimes during the war. However, these POWs were subsequently repatriated to Pakistan without any trial as an 'act of clemency' by the government of Bangladesh under the Tripartite Agreement of 1974, enclosed at **Annexure 16**.

As stated earlier the Tripartite Agreement, also known as The 1974 Accord, was signed between Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India. A different law was to govern the fate of local collaborators of the Pakistani forces. This was called the Bangladesh Collaborators (Special Tribunal) Order 1972. Over 100,000 people were arrested under the 1972 Order627 and investigated but only 752 were found guilty and sentenced.628 The International War Crimes (Tribunal) Act 1973 subsequently became dormant and the 1972 Order was repealed.629

Reactivation of the War Trials

After more than four decades, war crimes proceedings have resumed in Bangladesh with the Parliament's 2009 Amendment to the 1973 Law. The Act has been renamed as the International Crimes (Tribunal) (Amendment) Act, 2009 and establishes the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and acts of genocide committed during the 1971 insurgency and war.

In 2013, further amendments to the Act have widened its scope to include the trial of 'organizations'. It has also given the prosecution the right to appeal sentencing,630 The Awami League (AL) has thus actively been delivering on its electoral promise to bring justice to those allegedly involved in the atrocities that lead to the creation of Bangladesh.

- 627 Jalil, Md. Abdul, War Crimes Tribunals in Bangladesh: A Socio-Political and Legal Impact Analysis ICSR. Journal of Sociological Research, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2012, p.335
- 628 Jalil, M, War Crimes Trial in Bangladesh: A Real Political Vendetta. Journal of Politics and Law, 3(2), 2010. pp.113-117
- 629 The Bangladesh Collaborators (Special Tribunals) (Repeal) Ordinance, 1975
- 630 Monitor, A., Amendment of International Crimes Tribunal Act of 1973, 2013

The current trials have been severely criticized and are widely seen as a tool for political gain. The opposition parties, especially the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), are evidently being targeted. In 2013, the ICT handed down nine verdicts, including six death and three life sentences. Many influential leaders of the JI were amongst those convicted. The judicial processes have been criticized by human rights' organizations around the world as being legally flawed. Quader Mollah's execution<sup>631</sup>, on the basis of the 2013 Amendment, was clearly seen as an attempt by the ruling AL to increase its support among the secular voters ahead of the 2014 polls.

Furthermore, the High Court's decision in August 2013 to cancel JI's registration with the Election Commission on the premise that the party's charter did not conform to the secular constitution of Bangladesh was seen as another political move. Secularly-oriented representatives of the public, including the Shahbagh activists, demand that the JI be completely banned. If ICT's verdict is against the JI leaders, the party may be outlawed soon. 632

In August 2015, the Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi has boldly admitted that the establishment of Bangladesh was a desire of every Indian, which was why Indian forces fought alongside the Mukti Bahini to divide Pakistan.633 The JI and its supporters, who were Pakistanis in 1971, are being discriminated against under the ICT. Those who showed loyalties to their country are being denied due process and human rights guarantees, due to political manipulation as well as procedural and institutional flaws. India remains one of the most ardent supporters of the ICT and its executions and has indicated its support against any criticism of the Bangladeshi policy on the current trials.

- $^{631}$  The Chief Prosecutor Vs. Abdul Quader Molla, ICT-BD Case No. 02 of 2012, 5 February 2013
- $632\,\mathrm{Lorch},$  J., Elections in Bangladesh: Political Conflict and the Problem of Credibility,

2015

 $^{633}$  International The News, Indian forces fought along Mukti Bahini: Modi, 2015

Undermining the Tripartite Agreement

Today, after decades of inaction and disregarding and discrediting its own commitments, i.e. the 1974 Accord, Bangladesh is once again pointing fingers at Pakistan. At the time, as part of the 1974 Accord, Bangladesh agreed not to prosecute the Pakistani PoWs, which is a prerogative of the state in relation to any crime. They even termed it an act of clemency. When a determination not to prosecute is part of a wider agreement based on reciprocity, then no unilateral revocation of such decisions should take place. This would be akin to one party acting in confidence that an agreement had been struck, only to have the second party renege on its commitments after receiving its share of the benefits.

The 1974 Accord established the framework for the normalization of relations between the three States. It was with this in mind that the leaders of the three States agreed to the specific terms, including the repatriation of all POWs. While the 1974 Accord employs the term 'clemency', this is not legally accurate. Clemency is generally understood in terms of a petition of mercy or a pardon granted to a convicted person. Since the 195 Pakistani PoWs were never tried, no determination of their guilt could be made. With the passage of four decades since the events of the alleged crimes and the deterioration of evidence, any suggestion of initiating the trial of Pakistani PoWs would be a grave breach of fair trial and due process standards. This is abundantly evident by the highly criticized ongoing trials of the alleged local collaborators in Bangladesh.

Breaking the Law

The International War Crimes (Tribunal) Act, 1973 of Bangladesh was considered to be in conflict with the Constitution of Bangladesh from its inception. Article 102 of the Constitution deals with the enforcement of fundamental rights which has been excluded from the 1973 Act altogether. Furthermore, the recently introduced Constitutional Article 47A blatantly denies any remedies available under the Bangladeshi Constitution to those accused of the 1971 crimes. The Tribunal was designed to try the POWs, but it is instead convicting opposition politicians in a move which has been criticized as, 'being inspired by regime's revenge'.

634 Jalil, M., War Crimes Trial in Bangladesh: A Real Political Vendetta. Journal of Politics and Law, 3(2), 2010, pp.117-118. 635 Constitution of Bangladesh 1972: Art 47.(3)

Political bias has been evident not only in the drafting of the amendments to the 1973 Law but also in the appointment of Tribunal members as well as prosecutors who are all fervent AL supporters. It is pertinent to note that under the International Crimes Tribunal Act 1973 the appointment of the tribunal members cannot be challenged either by the defence or the prosecution.637

The retrospective amendments of the Act are permitting prosecution appeals, which led to the unjust conversion of Quader Mollah's sentence from life imprisonment to death. Geoffrey Robertson QC refers to the act as 'a form of lynch law'.

The ICT appears to have no rules on admissibility of evidence. The Tribunal exercises discretion to freely consider hearsay evidence and also allows the court extremely wide discretion in admitting evidence without any restriction of technical rules, thereby allowing hearsay evidence to be admitted without cross examination. Trial is also permitted in absentia which is being abused to try political opponents.

The ICT does not even provide basic mandatory guarantees of international human rights treaties. For instance, international law requires the provision of adequate time and facilities to prepare a defence, but this has been consistently breached by ICT which allows only three weeks for defence preparation after the disclosure of prosecution evidence and by restricting access to counsel.639 The Tribunal has also limited the opportunity to defend. In the case of Quader Molla, for example, out of the list of 965 witnesses upon which the defence wanted to rely, the Tribunal allowed only 6. On the other hand, the prosecution was allowed to present all 12 of their witnesses including two investigating officers. The Tribunals have even overlooked the presumption of innocence till proven guilty. 640

Bangladesh refuses international assistance, including that of the UN legal advisers, because such help requires the abandonment of the death sentence and

abiding by international standards of fair trial. The ICT has come under criticism since there is nothing 'international' about it. The judges and the prosecutors are government-appointed local lawyers while the foreign counsel has been banned from appearing for the defence.641 Further, it is not strictly speaking, a Bangladeshi court because, the 2009 amendments have removed constitutional protections available to all defendants in local courts as discussed above.

- 636 Daily Mail, Take heed, Bangladesh: Regime revenge is not justice, 2015
- 637 Jalil, M., War Crimes Trial in Bangladesh: A Real Political Vendetta. Journal of Politics and Law, 3(2), 2010, p.117.
- $^{638}\,Robertson\,QC,G,Report\,On\,The\,International\,Crimes\,Tribunal\,Of\,Bangladesh,2015,p.11$
- 639 ICTA 1973, S9
- 640 Islamic Human Rights Commission Report, An Unjust Conviction that Undermines Rule of Law: The Case of Quader Molla, 2013

Opposition to the International Crimes Tribunal

The ICT has faced severe criticism from International organizations including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, experts appointed by the UN Human Rights Council, the War Crimes Committee of the International Bar Association and the US Special Ambassador for War Crimes among others. Serious concerns regarding the legality of the Tribunal's proceedings have been raised some of which are presented below.

With regard to the case of Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mojaheed (JI) and Salauddin Quader Chowdhury (BNP), who were executed on the 21st of November 2015, Amnesty International categorically stated that their trial and appeal procedure was 'clearly flawed'. The Director of Amnesty International has indicated the abuse of procedural impropriety and deviation from the laws of natural justice in the said cases. He stated that, 'The lack of fair trials makes the use of the death penalty even more disturbing'.642

Similar concerns on the Tribunal's functioning have been raised by Human Rights Watch (HRW). It has urged the Bangladeshi government to 'halt imminent war crimes executions', because they lack the international standards of fair trial.<sup>643</sup>

In this regard, the concerns of the International Centre of Transitional Justice (ICTJ) go along with HRW. In 2010, the ICTJ published its own report that highlighted these issues. The report stated that the Tribunal lacks a specialized mechanism of investigations and prosecutions of international crimes. Also the imposition of Article 47A of the Bangladeshi constitution precludes the fundamental rights to any person accused of war crimes. It further raised questions on the independence or impartiality of the judicial conscience of Tribunal's judges.644

- 641 Robertson QC, G, Report On The International Crimes Tribunal Of Bangladesh,
- 2015, p.12
- <sup>642</sup> Annesty International, Bangladesh: Two opposition leaders face imminent execution after serious flaws in their trials and appeals, 2015
- 643 Human Rights Watch, Bangladesh: Halt Imminent War Crimes Executions, 2015

The ICT thus blatantly ignores the maxim against bias. In the case of Molla Qadeer the judge unequivocally despised even the mere possibility that a witness who was a freedom fighter (Mukti Bahini) could possibly fabricate or give a false testimony. The judge held with utter confidence, "There is no doubt that freedom fighters are the best sons of our soil. Risking their lives they fought against one of the most organised forces in the region, against economic exploitation and for political liberation of the people of the country. Thus there is no earthly reason to disbelieve the testimony of this vital witness". 645

The parliamentarians of the United Kingdom (UK) have also been critical about the procedural irregularities of the war tribunal. Tom Brake (MP) demanded the suspension of Salauddin Quader Chowdhury's sentence and wrote, 'It is quite evident that the ICT had no intention of granting Salauddin Quader Chowdhury a fair trial, let alone following due judicial process'. <sup>646</sup> US lawmakers concurred with the British MP Stephen Rapp, who was appointed as the Ambassador for Obama's administration for war crimes from September 2009 till August 2015, and referred to the denial of the defence's alibi to Chowdhury as 'disturbing'.647

The office of the Spokesperson of the US State Department stated, in April 2015 that until international obligations can be consistently met, it is best not to proceed with executions given the irreversibility of a death sentence. Yet, the ICT continues to hand out death sentences on its own whim.

The ICT and its ongoing trials have and continue to face large scale criticism from various bodies, groups, and organizations at both the national and international level. The statements condemning the ICT trials thus strongly advocate that the ICT does not live up to the international standards of fair trial and due process. Pakistan needs to make sure that this issue keeps getting highlighted and international pressure on Bangladesh increases to the point where they stop.

- 644 Reiger, Fighting Past Impunity in Bangladesh, 2010, p.5
- <sup>645</sup> Prosecutor v Molla, Criminal Appeal Nos 24-25 of 2013, judgment 17 September
- 2013, p.227
- <sup>646</sup> Brake, Violation of Judicial process by Bangladesh International criminal tribunal, Liberal Democrat Voice, 2015
- 647 Business Standard, US criticism grows over Bangladesh war crimes tribunal, 2015

# The Liberation War Crimes Denial Act

Over the years, the AL government has continued to establish Bangladesh's historical narrative, whipped up for its own political motivations. It was in February 2016 that the Bangladesh Law Commission opened consultation on a draft law called the Liberation War Denial Crimes Act. The Act would make it impossible to question the number of deaths that occurred in the nine months between Operation Searchlight and the fall of Dacca. 648

To the government of the AL, the genocide of 3 million Bengalis is a foundational element of the struggle for national liberation. For them, allowing any equivocation about the numbers of victims in the 1971 war is to open the door to the apologists for Pakistan and the enemies of Bangladeshi independence.

Some of the proposed offences in the Act were so broad that they could actually affect basic human rights like free speech and research. An extract of the legislation is given below which shows just how broad and unjust the Act could be:

Any denial of the following subject in any media of any nature or in any manner will be considered as offence of distortion of the history of liberation war and will be considered as a crime

- (a) denving events that were for the preparation of the liberation war between 14 August 1947 to 28 Feb 1971
- (b) denying events that were for the preparation of the liberation war between 1 March 1971 to 25 March 1971
- (c) denying events that were for the preparation of the liberation war between 26 March 1971 to 16 December 1971
- (d) Giving a malicious statement in any local or foreign media that undermines any events related to the liberation war
- (e) Misrepresentation or devaluation of any government publication, so far published, on the history of the liberation war;
- (f) Representing the liberation war history inaccurately or with half-truth in the text books or in any other medium
- (g) Trivializing any information related to the martyrs, female war heroines, the killing of civilians, arson, rape and looting
- (h) Mocking any events, information or data about the liberation war
- (i) Committing contempt of the liberation war by calling the liberation war anything other than a historic fight for the nation's independence
- (j) Showing justification for or publicising support for various criminal activities conducted by the Pakistan army in 1971 and Al Badr, Razaker, Al Shams and members of the Peace Committees as the Auxiliary forces of the Pakistan army.
- (k) Showing support to the crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, genocide and other war crimes or calling into question or carrying out false propaganda about the trials that deals with these crimes. <sup>649</sup>

# 648 Editorial, Bangladesh Law, Dawn, April 7, 2016

Recently, a sedition case was filed by an AL activist against Khaleda Zia, the leader of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), because of the following speech she gave in December. 'There is a debate about how many hundreds of thousands were martyred in the liberation war, different books give different accounts'. 650 The courts decided to hear the case and convict Khaleda Zia, if found guilty.

We have already established that the number of deaths reported by the Bangladeshi government is a gross exaggeration. But unfortunately, many Bengalis sincerely believe in the 3 million figure, which symbolizes the huge sacrifices of the war. M. A. Hasan, convener of the War Crimes Fact Finding Committee, said, 'The figure of liberation war martyrs is one such issue which no one should question'.651

On 22 nd August 2016, Bangladesh's cabinet approved the draft law with a provision of life imprisonment and a huge fine for distorting the history of the liberation war against Pakistan. The Liberation War Crimes Denial Act suggests that, "if anybody conducts propaganda against the war of liberation and its spirit and the father of the nation, 'Bangabandhu' Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he or she will suffer a maximum life imprisonment and a minimum three-year jail." <sup>652</sup>

The Liberation War Denial Crimes Act is based on the Holocaust denial laws. This basically means that no one can challenge the myths created by the Bengalis, myths that we have challenged in this book and dispelled. The fact is that any law that disallows legitimate scholarly inquiry into history is nothing but propaganda, to strengthen the official line and crush any opposition.

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649 David Bergman, Bangladesh Liberation War Crime Law, Bangladesh Politico, April
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10, 2016

 $650\,\mathrm{The}$  Politics of Bangladesh Genocide Debate, New York Times, April 5, 2016

651 Ibid

652 The Telegraph, August 23, 2016

This Act is evidence of history being moulded to fit the political narrative of the AL. Dacca seems intent on mining the tragedy of 1971 for political gain, rather than closing the chapter and moving on. The ICT, as discussed before, is another example of this.

# Fostering Relationships with Bangladesh

Four decades have passed since the dismemberment of Pakistan on 16<sup>th</sup> December 1971; but, the bilateral relationship between the two countries has not been normalized as yet.

Mistrust, suspicion, and the AL government's propensity to state false facts have kept Pakistan away from fostering a cooperative and sustainable relationship with Bangladesh. There is a lot of potential in the relationship not only in the trade sector, but also in strategic cooperation. In the changing international political landscape, Bangladesh and Pakistan need to come closer and establish strong ties based on mutual understanding and trust.

Pragnatically speaking, there are no permanent adversaries or friends, but only interests. There are instances in the world history of past enemies entering into excellent bilateral understandings and forging multilateral cooperation for mutual gain. For example, despite the horrific atomic bomb attack on Japan during the World War II, the United States has become Japan's closest ally. Also, France and Britain were rivals for centuries but share a strong relationship today. Unlike those other countries, ironically, even after forty-five years since 1971, legacies discourage close friendly relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

The internal political scene in Bangladesh is still extremely volatile, and respectively, its foreign policy is much more regime centric. It is widely believed that the AL government is pro-Indian and the BNP government is pro-Pakistan, which governs their respective foreign policies. Additionally, the bureaucratic obstacles still remain a problem. Ironically, Bangladesh has not been able to make a concrete foreign policy towards Pakistan.

Geographically, Bangladesh is surrounded by India who has a definite superiority complex over them. Pakistan, in this regard, could be a strategic ally for Bangladesh to minimize the Indian influence on its affairs, where it has continued to exert its unwanted influence in political as well as the social affairs. Bangladesh and Pakistan can work closely to improve their geostrategic position.

In spite of long time unpleasantness, relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan are not entirely negative in nature as the two countries are bound by many common ties rooted in a shared history and culture. An important factor that binds the two people together is religion, thus Islam can act as a bridge between the two brotherly countries.

During 1989, Pakistan was Bangladesh's second largest trade partner after the United States. But, today, the trade volume amounts to \$300-\$350 million,

and Bangladesh's exports are around \$70 million only. There is huge potential for enhancing bilateral trade between the two countries. <sup>653</sup> Bangladeshi exports to Pakistan include raw jute, jute goods, tea, newsprint, etc. On the other hand, Pakistan exports cotton, edible oil, fruits, oil seeds, etc. The two countries also need to seek out new areas of cooperation. Bangladesh has a vast opportunity for increasing exports in various areas, i.e. leather and leathers goods, pharmaceutical products, ceramic and melamine, tea, jute, etc. and Pakistan can play a vital role in realizing this.

In terms of trade, both tariff and non-tariff trade related barriers should be eliminated. Both countries need to maximize the trade volume by investment and launching of joint ventures in various commercial fields. Direct shipping links need to be established between the port of Chittagong and Karachi to facilitate sea trade. A Free Trade Agreement, along the lines of what Pakistan has with China, could prove beneficial to both parties.

The fact is that there is no fast way to transform BangladeshPakistan relations from relative indifference to mutual warmth. But, when the rest of the world is going above and beyond their usual boundaries to foster good relations, it's high time for both Bangladesh and Pakistan to go beyond the emotions influenced by the tragedy of 1971.

Media, in this regard, can play a significant role to improve relations. People-to-people contact would be another important factor to remove bitterness and psychological barriers by cultural and student exchange programs.

Alongside the foreign ministry, relations need to be established through academic scholars, retired civil and military officials, public figures, and social activists of the two countries coming together and engaging in dialogue.

# 653 CNN Report, 41 years of Independence and Bangladesh-Pakistan Relations, April 2013

Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) can also be another means of sustainable cooperation. Bangladeshi NGO, BRAC expanded into Pakistan in 2007 and now covers six districts; reciprocally Pakistani NGOs can also go to Bangladesh and carry out their operations, particularly to help the Biharis stranded in Bangladesh since 1971. The civil society needs to come forward for building trust and confidence by discouraging negative propaganda against each other, particularly in the media. Pakistani banks may be encouraged to operate in Bangladesh and vice versa. A joint investment treaty should also be signed to facilitate investment opportunities in both the countries.

To some extent, improvements in Bangladesh-Pakistan relations have been witnessed recently, but these remain subject to change on the whim of the Bangladeshi regime in power and its policies towards Pakistan. Pakistan, on its part can make sure that the feelings of animosity disappear irrespective of the regime in Bangladesh, so that both nations can grow and prosper.

# **Establishing a Coherent Narrative and Policy**

It is about time that Pakistan takes a concrete step to formulate its own coherent narrative based on the historical facts. The global community must be informed about the role of India and her proxy war resulting in Pakistan's dismemberment. Although, much has been written, yet a holistic Pakistani narrative seems to be missing. The absence of such narrative has resulted in misleading and exaggerated accounts, which point an accusative finger towards Pakistan. Pakistan desperately needs to address this.

Over forty-five years have passed since the dismemberment of Pakistan, yet the narrative of the events presented by each country remains contradictory and conflicting. The tragedy of 1971 thus is not only that Pakistan was dismembered, but also that that many war crimes went unpunished. The whitewashed propaganda fed to millions by the Bengalis and Indians is largely misleading and not backed by any empirical evidence. Pakistan through inaction and a policy of ignoring the issue has failed to establish a narrative that is sensible and explains its position cogently.

The Bengalis committed appalling atrocities in the name of freedom fighting. And many Pakistani army officers, carrying out military action against an insurgency, proved to be fine men doing their best to fight an unconventional war. The Pakistani army has been unjustly 'demonized' and accused of monstrous actions regardless of the evidence, while the Bengali people continue to be depicted as 'victims'.

Additionally, history books need to be rewritten to inform people of the reality. The policy of glossing over our own mistakes has to be abandoned. It is only from learning through these mistakes that we can learn to be better in the future. Pakistani history books still spout internalized propaganda that there was no link between the West Pakistani subjugation and the onset of civil war, and that the Pakistan Army committed no atrocities and that defeat was primarily due to foreign conspiracies.

It is worth pointing out that civilian and military governments in Pakistan never prosecuted those responsible for war crimes or even sanctioned anyone legally for allowing the civil war to occur in 1971. A few high-ranking officers of the army were retired, but no one was meaningfully held accountable judicially or in the parliament. The nation, thus never learnt why the use of force by its army had failed to pacify the people of East Pakistan. This needs to be corrected. We have discussed the Indian machinations to dismember Pakistan in Chapter 5.

India's current interference in Balochistan and Karachi should be the highest matter of concern for Pakistan. The 1971 tragedy should serve as a lesson to Pakistan, and it should nip the problem in the bud. Pakistan also needs to address the marginalization of its civilians in Balochistan and Sind. It is of extreme importance that the grievances of these people are addressed and resolved internally. Furthermore, to stop Indian interference, Pakistan should raise this issue in the UN and other international platforms, and make the international community realize that India is involved in destabilizing Pakistan through its interference in Balochistan and Karachi against all international norms.

It would be best if Pakistan established a pragmatic state-level foreign policy towards Bangladesh and compel the government of Bangladesh to do the same, instead of maintaining regime-centric policies.

# GLOSSARY

Ahmadi , The Ahmadiyya is a sect founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian in 1889.

Akhand Baharat, the undivided land of Hindus or Undivided India Amar Sonar Bangla, The national anthem of Bangladesh meaning "My Golden Bengal"

Ameer, title given to the supreme leader of Jamaat-e-Islami Arya Samaj, an Indian religious movement that promotes values and practices based on the infallibility of the Vedas

Biharis, a group of people belonging to the Indian state of Bihar and Jharkand. During the partition of India in 1947, large number of Muslim Biharis migrated to East Pakistan

Bismillahir Rahmanir Raheem, is the first phrase in the Quran meaning "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the most Merciful"

Bu Lahabism, The mannerisms of Hazrat Muhammad's (PBUH) condemned uncle Abu Lahab **Darbaris**, or courtiers are people who are often in attendance at the court of a king or leader.

**Dogra**, are an Indo-Aryan ethno-linguistic group in India and Pakistan. Being a diversified group, the Dogras include savarnas such as Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishyas and non-savarnas.

Eid, Muslim holiday celebrated to mark the end of Ramadan Eid al-Adha, also called the "Sacrifice Feast" or "Bakr-Eid", is the second of two Muslim holidays celebrated worldwide each year Harijan a member of a hereditary Hindu group of the lowest social and ritual status

Hindutva, an ideology seeking to establish the hegemony of Hindus and the Hindu way of life

Hindu Raj, Hindu rule

Jamat, a group of people or congregation

Jatha is an armed body of Sikhs that have existed in Sikh tradition since the beginning of the Khalsa (Sikh community) in 1699

Jihad, a war or struggle among Muslims against unbelievers Kafir, is an Arabic term "unbeliever", or "disbeliever" of God

Kambal chor, meaning blanket thief, a derogatory term used to call someone a low-level thief

Khalsa, the body or company of fully initiated Sikhs, to which devout orthodox Sikhs are ritually admitted at puberty

Khans, a surname of Mongolian origin used by commonly by Pathans

Khilafat Movement, was an agitation by Indian Muslims, allied with Indian nationalists, to pressure the British government to preserve the authority of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Islam after World War I

Khoja Shia, are a group of diverse people who converted to Islam in South Asia and are adherents of Nizari Ismaili or Shi'ism Kirpan is a sword or knife carried by Sikhs

MadheSahaba, is religious procession led initially led by Muslims in Lucknow

Maleccha, means outcaste, invader, someone who is an outsider Mata, is a Hindi term meaning respected mother

Molvis and Maulanas, is an honorific Islamic religious title given to Muslim religious scholars or Ulema, similar to the titles Maulana, Mullah, or Shaykh

Mughals, Muslim emperors that ruled over the subcontinent between 1526 BC -1739 BC

Mussalmanuphobia, the fear of all things Muslim, coined by an official of the Govt. to explain the mindset of the British in 1857 Palidistan, a disambiguation of the word Pakistan meaning impure land

Pathan is a synonym commonly used in South Asia to refer to the Pashtun people, alternatively called ethnic Afghans, the largest and second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan and Pakistan respectively

Pirs, a Sufi teacher, spiritual leader

Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder and first Governor-General

**Quran**, is the central religious text which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God

Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, and the month in which the Quran was revealed. Fasting during the month of Ramadan is one of the Five Pillars of Islam

Razakar, was a paramilitary force organized by the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971

Roti, Kapra aur Makan, an Urdu phrase referring to the bare necessities of life, which was popularized in the late 1960s by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Sarswati, is the Hindu goddess of knowledge, music, arts, wisdom and learning

Shia, is a sect of Islam

Shudhi and Sangathan, a movement of conversion to Hinduism

Sunnah, is the record of the teachings, deeds and sayings, silent permissions (or disapprovals) of the Islamic prophet Muhammad, as well as various reports about Muhammad's companions

Sunni, is a sect of Islam to which the majority of the Muslims belong Tanzim-iJama'at, a department of 'party organisation' created within the Jamaat-e-Islami

Muhajir, an Arabic word meaning emigrant, used commonly for people to migrated from India to Pakistan after partition Ulema, a body of Muslim scholars recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology

Urdu, the national language and lingua franca of Pakistan, and an official language of six states of India

Vande Matram, a poem from Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's 1882 novel Anandamath. The song's first two verses were given the official status of the "national song" of India

Waderas, powerful landowners who are the judge, jury and executioner for his people

**Zamindar**, a landowner, especially one who leases his land to tenant farmers

ZilaParishad, is the third tier of the Panchayati Raj system

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# Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State dated 26 October, 1947.

Legal Document No 113

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act 1935, shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of India.

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor General, provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof.

Now, therefore, I Shriman Inder Mahinder Rajrajeswar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu & Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipati, Ruler of Jammu & Kashmir State, in the exercise of my Sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

- 1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th day of August 1947, (which Act as so in force is hereafter referred to as "the Act").
- I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.
- I accept the matters specified in the schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make law for this State.
- 4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of the State, then any such agreement shall be construed and have effect accordingly.
- The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.
- 6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense, or, if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.
- Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into agreement with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

http://www.kashmir-information.com/LegalDocs/113.html

30-04-2008

- 8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my Sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.
- I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that
  any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be
  construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October, nineteen hundred and forty seven.

Hari Singh

Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.

# Acceptance of Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State

Legal Document No 114

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this twenty seventh day of October, nineteen hundred and forty seven.

Mountbatten of Burma	
Governor General of India.	

Nex

# INDIA-BHUTAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY

The Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan:

Reaffirming their respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity;

Recalling the historical relations that have existed between our two countries;

Recognizing with deep satisfaction the manner in which these relations have evolved and matured over the years into a model of good neighbourly relations;

Being fully committed to further strengthening this enduring and mutually beneficial relationship based on genuine goodwill and friendship, shared interests, and close understanding and cooperation;

Desiring to clearly reflect this exemplary relationship as it stands today;

And having decided, through mutual consent, to update the 1949 Treaty relating to the promotion of, and fostering the relations of friendship and neighbourliness between India and Bhutan;

Have agreed as follows:

# Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between India and Bhutan.

# Article 2

In keeping with the abiding ties of close friendship and cooperation between Bhutan and India, the Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan and the Government of the Republic of India shall cooperate closely with each other on issues relating to their national interests. Neither Government shall allow the use of its territory for activities harmful to the national security and interest of the other.

# Article 3

There shall, as heretofore, be free trade and commerce between the territories of the Government of Bhutan and the Government of India. Both the Governments shall provide full cooperation and assistance to each other in the matter of trade and commerce.

# Article 4

The Government of India agrees that the Government of Bhutan shall be free to import, from or through India into Bhutan, whatever arms, ammunition, machinery, warlike material or stores as may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Bhutan, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all time as long as the Government of India is satisfied that the intentions of the Government of Bhutan are friendly and that there is no danger to India from such importations. The Government of Bhutan agrees that there shall be no export of such arms, ammunition and materials outside Bhutan either by the Government of Bhutan or by private individuals.

# Article 5

The Government of Bhutan and the Government of India agree that Bhutanese subjects residing in Indian territories shall have equal justice with Indian subjects, and that Indian subjects residing in Bhutan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Government of Bhutan.

# Article 6

The extradition of persons wanted by either state for crimes and for unlawful activities affecting their security shall be in keeping with the extradition agreements between the two countries.

# Article 7

The Government of Bhutan and the Government of India agree to promote cultural exchanges and cooperation between the two countries. These shall be extended to such areas as education, health, sports, science and technology.

# Article 8

The Government of Bhutan and the Government of India agree to continue to consolidate and expand their economic cooperation for mutual and long-term benefit.

# Article 9

Any differences and disputes arising in the interpretation and application of this Treaty shall be settled bilaterally by negotiations in a spirit of trust and understanding in consonance with the historically close ties of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation that form the bedrock of Bhutan-India relations.

# Article 10

This Treaty shall come into force upon the exchange of Instruments of Ratification by the two overnments which shall take place in Thimphu within one month of the signing of this Treaty.

The Treaty shall continue in force in perpetuity unless terminated or modified by mutual consent.

In witness whereof, the undersigned being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed this Treaty.

Done at New Delhi on the Eighth Day of February Two Thousand and Seven, in two originals each in Hindi, Dzongkha and English languages, each text being equally authentic. However, in case of difference, the English text shall prevail.

For the Government of The Republic of India

For the Government of the Kingdom of Bhutan

Sd/-

Sd/-

(Pranab Mukherjee) Minister of External Affairs (H.R.H. Trongsa Penlop Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck) The Crown Prince of Bhutan Hijacking of Indian plane to Lahore Findings of judicial enquiry commission released

Islamabad, April 20

A Commission of Inquiry was appointed in March this year by the President to enquire into the circumstances of the hijacking of an Indian civil aircraft to Lahore on January 30, 1971, to find out the persons responsible for it and to determine the motives behind the incident. The Commission headed by Mr. Justice Noorul Arfin, Judge of the High Court of Sind and Baluchistan, submitted its report to the President on April 15, 1971.

The Commission examined a number of witnesses besides the two hijackers, Mohammad Hashim Qureshi and Mohammad Ashraf Qureshi.

According to a summary of the report released here today, the Commission has come to the conclusion that Pakistan was in no way responsible for, nor in any way connected with, the hijacking incident. In fact, the Commission pointed out, that as soon as the hijacked aircraft landed at Lahore airport, the Governmental authorities in Pakistan took every step to protect members of the crew, the passengers and the aircraft. They extended every co-operation and facility to the Indian High Commission in Pakistan to remain in contact with the passengers and members of the crew, who were safely taken to and allowed to cross the border into India. The authorities in Pakistan took all possible steps to protect the Indian plane. Immediate possession of the aircraft was not possible for two reasons. Onc, because the hijackers were reported to be armed with a revolver and a handgrenade, which were found to be dummy weapons only after the destruction of the aircraft. And, two, as the news of the hijacked aircraft spread, large crowds collected at the airport creating a serious law and order situation. Despite this, the Governmental authorities took steps on February 2 to isolate the hijackers so that conditions could be created for taking possession of the aircraft. But as soon as the hijackers realized that these steps were afoot and that the aircraft may be released to India they destroyed it by setting fire to it. Their action was promptly deplored by the Government of Pakistan.

From the evidence produced before it, the Commission has come to the conclusion that the hijacking of the aircraft was arranged by the Indian Intelligence Agencies as the culmination of a series of actions taken by the Indian Government to bring about a situation of con-

frontation between Pakistan and India. These included Indian attacks on Batrigachh, and other Pakistani enclaves in December 1970, externment of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg, banning of Plebiscite Front and expulsion of a First Secretary of Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi.

The Commission says that the hijacking incident occurred at a time when talks were in progress between the leaders of the Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party for the resolution of the differences arising from their programmes. Subsequent events like arms aid by India to subversive elements in East Pakistan and the concentration of the Indian forces on the East Pakistan border have led the Commission to take the view that another additional motive behind this incident was to disrupt communications within Pakistan and to dislocate movement of people and supplies between the two wings and thereby to create a state of tension between the various regions of Pakistan with a view to strengthening separatist tendencies. This object was sought to be achieved by the sudden imposition of ban with effect from February 4, 1971, on flights of Pakistani aircraft over Indian territory, particularly the territory between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Another motive behind the incident would appear to be a desire to weaken Pakistan financially.

Dealing with the circumstances of hijacking, the Commission says on January 28, 1971, Ashraf booked two seats by air journey from Srinagar to Jammu, one in his own name and the other for Hashim but in the name of Mohammad Husain. They left their homes for Srinagar airport in the morning of January 30, 1971, but on the way they were checked by a military post. When they reached the airport there were at least three members of the Indian Intelligence/Security Services at the airport, all of whom knew Hashim. One was Dawarka Nath, Inspector of the Indian-held Kashmir CID, the other was Chabeel Singh, Havildar in BSF and the third was a member of the Indian Intelligence, who was standing near the aircraft, later hijacked. Dawarka Nath insisted that Hashim should entertain him to tea and when Hashim pleaded that he had no money, Dawarka Nath put his hand into Hashim's overcoat pocket, from where he took out a cyclostyled poster in Urdu, entitled 'Jehad has begun'. This fact is mentioned in the Hindu, Madras of February 11, 1971. However, they boarded the plane without any hindrance and the aircraft duly took off for Jammu. When the announcement was made that the aircraft was about to land at Jammu airport both Hashim and Ashraf stood

up. Hashim ran into the cockpit where he put a dummy revolver on the left side of the neck of the pilot and informed him that he and Ashraf were NLF workers and were hijacking the aircraft to Pakistan. Ashraf took his post at the door between the cockpit and passengers, cabin with the dummy hand-grenade in his hand and informed passengers and other members of the crew to remain seated quietly as otherwise he would blow up the aircraft with the hand-grenade. The pilot contacted the Airport Control Tower at Lahore and entered into Pakistan.

The report says that the circumstances under which Hashim and Ashraf left the Srinagar airport on January 30 strengthens the Commission in its view that hijacking of the Indian aircraft was not an act of freedom fighters but was carried out with the blessings and complicity of the Indian authorities. It should be noted that the hijackers carried a dummy revolver and a dummy hand-grenade. The question is why, with Hashim Qureshi's connection with the BSF and the Indian Intelligence Service, it was not possible for him to obtain a real revolver. The idea cannot be ruled out that the persons who planned the hijacking of the aircraft did not wish to expose the members of the crew and the passengers to unnecessary risks. Moreover, the evidence before the Commission is that notwithstanding the fact that Hashim was in the employment of the BSF as well as the Indian Intelligence Bureau, he himself was kept under constant surveillance. In New Delhi, he was always in the company of Inspector Ghulam Husain Mir and in Srinagar he was either in the company of this Mir or in that of Dawarka Nath. He was not allowed to enter Srinagar airport except when he was accompaned by Dawarka Nath. Still, Hashim and Ashraf were allowed to board the aircraft without any search.

From the fact that Hashim was under constant surveillance it appears inconceivable to the Commission that the Indian authorities were not aware of Hashim's preparations for hijacking and his boarding the aircraft for this purpose. Even the way the aircraft was hijacked indicates that the whole thing had been stage-managed. Hashim put the dummy revolver on the left side of the neck of the pilot but a bare glance would have shown to the co-pilot that it was a toy weapon. Likewise, an experienced military man like Captain Mohan Singh of the Assam Rifles who was sitting just in front of Ashraf in the passenger cabin could surely recognize that Ashraf was not holding a genuine grenade. But no attempt was made to overpower

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command agree to surrender all PAKISTAN Armed Forces in BANGLA DESH to Lieutenant-General JAGJII SINGH AURORA, General Officer Commanding in Chief of the Indian and BANGLA DESH forces in the Eastern Theatre. This surrender includes all PAKISTAN land, air and naval forces as also all para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant-General JAGJII SINGH AURORA.

The PAKISTAN Eastern Command shall come under orders of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AURORA will be final, should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with provisions of the GENEVA Convention and guarantees the safety and well-being of all PAKISTAN military and para-military forces who surrenders. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of NEST PAKISTAN origin by the forces under the command of lieutenant-General JAGJIT SINGH AUROPA.

(JAGJIT NINGK AURORA) Lievtenant-Seneral

General Officer Commanding in Chief India and BANGLA DESH Forces in the

Eastern Theatre

16 December 1971.

AAK Niazidt - dan

(AMIR ABBMILLAH KHAN NIAZI)
Lieutenant-General
Martia? Law Administrator Zone B and
Commander Eastern Command (Pakistan)

16 December 1971

IN THE LABORS HIGH COURT AT LABORE

IN RE .- Writ Petition No. 1649 of 1973

General (Retd) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, Resident of 61-Harley Strout, Rawalpindi. Vorema

Poderation of Pakistan

.. ... RESTONDENT

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AFFIDAVIT OF General (Retd) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, Resident of 61-Harley atreet, Rawalpindi Cantt.

I, the deponent above-named, do hereby solemnly affirm and declars as under .-



over power to the deponent, Mr. Zulfiker Ali Bhutto came to the deponent and suggested to become political arms of the caid Mr. Bulfiker Ali Bhutto while the deponent himself would be at the head of the Armed Forces of Pekistan. Mr. Bhutto had said that in this way both of them would be able to rule the country for twenty-five years. The deponent disapproved it with contempt.

That the dependent was promoted as Brigadier then
he was 34 years old. This achievement was in fact rate
phenomenen in Military Service. The dependent was the
incherge of the Command on Chhamb-Janrian front in the
year 1965 war. He conducted Military operation on that
front most successfully and brought Learels to the
country. The dependent was endowed with highest horour when he
was appointed as Principal of the Military Staff College,
Quetta, Even earlier to that occasion the dependent
had the opportunity of serving as instructor in that staff
college before Independence the dependent had the chance of
imparting instructions as an instructor to distinguished
Military Officers of various foreign countries.

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- That the deponent used to go to Larkana for hunting.

  When F.M.Muhammad Ayub Khan declared Martial Law, Mr.Bhatto

  was recommended to be taken as Minister by Mr.Sikandar Mirza.

  Mr.DubCoffer Ali Qualibbash, the then Finance Minister of the

  deponent once told the deponent that a foreign dignatory had

  said Mr.Bhatto was so ambitions that discovered his phychology

  if he did not get any power within two or three years, he

  will go med."
- deponent that Mr. Shutto had approached the Chinese Premier to invite him (Mr. Nhutto) to China and that if the deponent allowed Mr. Shutto, China will invite him. The deponent responded that Mr. Shutto was not his rival and therefore, he

he had no objection if he visite China. The deponent then called for Mr. Bhitto and told him that if he manted to go to China he should have asked the deponent because the way he had adopted would have given a wrong impression of the political conditions prevailing in Pakistan.

5) That Mr. Bhutto along with General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim went to China and on his return gave a very arong impression to the public which could infuriate our ensures.

deponent that forget everything and mile the country. Ho

(Hr.Bhashani) had, however, given a 90 points charter of demends
to end corruption, including that Bengalies should be given
their rights etc. The deponent had said that he was willing
to fulfil their 90 domands but some ways should also be suggested
for their fulfilment. To take Hemlana Bhashani did-not
answered. You are astronomical to find an argument.

This the decomposit had prove declared that he wented.

That the dependent had mover declared that he wanted to remain as provident for ever. He had always said that he was their suardian and trustee and that his job was to defend the territorial and idealogical boundaries of the country. The politicians should do their duty and he would do his own. Once Conl. Shor All had asked the dependent rot to say such things but the dependent a real intention was to go back to the Barracks. Even Mujib had ence suggested that

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the deponent would be the President after the elections but the deponent had noted them not to repeat such things in future.

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That it was in the knowledge of the dependent that 8) Mr. Dhutto had called a socret meeting of the MMAs belonging to the Pokistan Peoples Party at Karachi wherein he required then to teke oath for not attending the Desca Session of the Estional Assembly. He had also declared it in open that who so over will go to Docea his legs will be broken and that he chould not purchase a return ticket. The deponent had not taken any ention against his because the dependent thought that he always uttored such things. Br. Bhutto was anyhor called by the deponent and was marned not to indulge in such things. Theroupen Mr. Bhutto maid 'General Schib we are political people - we do such things.'. Mr. Dhutto was very fond of wine and he used to take hard decop of liquor before going to the public meetings. Whenever he ment for a broadcast whicky could be found in his booth. Mr. Blantte had abused even at the meeting held at Gaddefi Stadium and the dependent had listaned his abusen enthe radio.



9) That this throat of Mr. Bhutto that those over will co
to Daoca his legs will be broken could put at stake the national
solidarity. This aggravated the situation in East Pakistan
and was a violation of the legal framework order. This throat
from Mr. Bhutto's side provided a cause of revolt in East

Pekcipten. This was no less dengerous than the six points

and olderly meant separation of the top pings of the country.

The dependent timed and again when to warm him but it was a matter of habit with him that he listened patiently but noter be thered to not upon any edvice. The speech delivered by Mr. Ehutto in Iqbal Park was transmissively perilous to the integrity of Pakistan. Rather, it was more suicided to the integrity of Pakistan than the six points formula of latescheikh Mujibur Rehmen. No doubt that Mujib was a lier but Mr. 2.4. Dimete was a clover and venezous tood. Mr. Dhatto was a clover and venezous tood. Mr. Dhatto was alare to his list for power so much so that he proposed the concept of two prima ministers in one country which the deponent strongly condemned. In answer to Mr. Dhatto's threatening speech of IDDHES MAN USDAN 1988, at Karcahi Shotkh Mujib on 12.3.1971 also delivered a public speech undershab or reiterated the unity and and colidarity of Pakistan. It is the opinion of the deponent that Hujib was patriotic at that the unlike Mr. Ehutto. Had

Out out of the control of the contro

10) That Mr.Bhutto had suggested to postpone the elections which were scheduled for October D70. He had said, "Cononel Schib, I know Mujib. He (Mujib) says that his six points were not final and were negotiable but he is a lier and will never negotiate on them". October alections were, he waver, postponed on

Mr. Dhutto not been elected to the Assembly he would not have

oteographs bas codocom officers and also expended

which ultimately contributed to the breckage of Pakisten.

the express desire of Mr. Justice Abdus Satter, the then O Chief Election Commissioner, who after the extensive town of East Pekintan had advised the dependent that the clerifors should be postponed for some time because of certain odds which Jus-OSottar had specified. Before postponing the elections the demonent held no meeting with Mr. Bhutto in this regard. Epotions were held in Docomber, 1970 and two parties namely, the Amend Leago and the Pekistan Peoples Party emerged as th jor perties in Eastern and Wontern Tings respectively. Mujib can prompting the dependent to mall governbly to the Secution coun at Shahood Meenar Day was approaching fast booms students could oreste trouble at that occasion. Mr.Bhutto wanted postponement and a dielogue with Hr Mujib to which the latter enswered that as Shahoed Mooner day was apply aching, the Sompion should be called immediately. Mr. Bhutto suggested postponement of the elections to the dependent becames to him (Mr. Dhutto) Mujib would not be willing to new tiate in that case, but the deponent asked him to reach Dacoa.

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deponent that situation was very serious as Bengalies were engry and if the Session was to be postponed now date for convening of Session should be announced. The deponent had also called a Covernors' meeting to discuss the situation. Covernor than had told him in the meeting that Bengalia will not agree to any postponement. The deponent said that Leader of the Hajority

party in most Pekistan says that he will not go to the Assembly if the Session is called a big number of people would remain outside. The dependent hed asked the perticipants of the meeting to apprise Eujib of this situation.

- egitation gained comentum. Bengalies stopped supplying

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  of ration to the Army. They erented read blocks, some instances
  of firing were also held and some of our coldiers were
  killed the Army also looked a limited action. The depends that also
  propered a Constitutional formula and showed it to Er. Mujib who
  ead it was a good formula. The depends asked him to discuss
  this formula in Assembly if some grandment were suggested it
  will be smended accordingly, he however, agreed on the formula.
- other West Pekisten Leaders, all except his eeme the dependent wired him and said that talks have been hold with Mujib and dependent thinks that you (Mr.Bhutto) will be satisfied, before Mr.Bhutto came to Dacen he pointed the situation by talking of some London Plan. Mujib rushed to the dependent and said that if Mr.Bhutto did like that it will not be possible for him to talk, Mr.Bhutto reached Dacen and he had come with an escent of Sive or six bearded Sindhis helding sten-guns with their finger on the triggers. Instead of softening the situation he did like this. The Bangalies are very sensitive people this all bore

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straight to his hotel.

As submitted earlier, the deponent invited 14) Mr. Bhutto for the participation in tri part tite dialogue to be held in Dacca, but he rofused. Then on a telegraphic message he consented to participate. Shortly before his departure for Teocs he resorted to mud-slinging with the result that Hujib was provoked and brought to the deponent's notice. He was accompanied by Taj-ud-Din when he met the deponent. Mujib pointed out that Mr. Bhutto was not sincere with regard to his participation as desired by the deponent inasmuch as he raised dust of London Plan with a mala fide intention and thus it would not be possible to hammer out a common denominator acceptable to the participants. On reaching Dacca Mr. Bhutto acked Mujib as to what would be his share in the Coverment to which Mujib replied that he would not have emen an iota of share in the Government to be formed by him. Besides, when Bhutto made reference to London Plan it was not approved of. The Bengalies were carrying play cards showing "Bhutto a Murderor - go back". They were also raising alogans against Mr. Bhutto.

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15) That the proposal of Army action in East Pakistan
was not given to the deponent by any body. The deponent was
head of the Army and it was the duty of the Army to suppress the

revolt. The deponent ordered to suppress the revolt. Mr. Wali Khan, Basenjo, Daultana, Mufti Mahmood, Abdul Qayyum Khan etc. were there. They had said that they had done their best but the

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the situation was not improving. The deponent then said as to what he chould do. They all said that it was for the deponent to decide, pekistani Flags were also burnt. The deponent had or dered effor this instances of criminal assaults were also reported. It was a generally revolt.

- That the dependent had held mosting with leaders of West Pakinten Mr. Thutto did not attend this mosting. He said that he would not sit with the bad eggs and would call on the dependent alone. When the situation did not improve the leaders from Woot Pakintan requested the dependent to errange their noturn.
- Mr.Mujib at Dacca in presence of deponent both the Leaders were sitting nearly the deponent but they did not speek. The deponent asked them not to behave like Shahi E26639 Bride and talk together. The deponent held hands of Bhutto and Mujib and maid that they were friends and they should talk. Mujib and Bhutto clee held a separate meeting. It happened that Mujib was with the deponent at the president Nouce then Mr.Bhutto came be waited in the room of Military Secretary Ishaq. Then Mujib came out Bhutto followed him and they both held meeting in the lawn. After the meeting the deponent had asked Mr.Bhutto about the talk to

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which he enswered that Mujib had told him that the formi People sere very dengerous. They would finish him (Mr.Mujib) first and then Mr.Rhutto and, therefore, "we should strike before they strike first".

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- the created slive. Hr.Bhutto had approved Army action and the create of Hujib he was very happy over it.
- That the only property of the dependent was the house therein he lived at Emmalpindi. During the War of 1965, he was awarded Hilal-c-Jurat and tro aquares of land on Kasur Esader. During Mr. Phutte's regime the tenants were asked not to pay share of land to the dependent. Ali Yahya, a son of the dependent was terminated from service from Burmah Shall on beheat of Mr. Phutte. Pension of the dependent was alm stopped which was restored by Genl. Zia-ul-Haq, the CMLA. The house at Rawalpindi was built by berrowing leans from the Bunke.
- That the dependent had hold elections under legal freme-work order and to major parties the PPP and the Avent Langue emerged. Avent Longue had no representation in the West Pakintan and the PPP had no feeting in the Eastern Wing. After heatility attriced in, the dependent made Roomal Main as Prise Minister. Build was under trial. Br. Rhutto was rade Poreign Minister and on his desire was also made the Deputy Prime Minister where after he was sent to the United Mations.
- 21) That Ex. Bhutto had initiated a shander comparign
  against the deponent to build his own impression among the public.
  Be reised searches against the deponent to defend himself and his





end-his wrong doings. When the deponent was under detention Mr. Rhutto did not call on him. He anyhow sent a message to a cousin of the deponent that if the deponent agreed to give statement against Mr. Wali Khan he would be set at liberty. The deponent was under detention at Abbetabed at that time and he rejected the idea with the contempt it deserved. Mr. Bhutto through Enbassy had said that he had his own methods of doing things and would relive (deal) with deponent. Such message was also sent through Agha Muhamad Ali, a brother of the deponent.

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- Pakistan regarding War with India and cossassion of hostilities to which the deponent had replied to Dr.Malik that he would be the Covernor and he had General Rao Farmen Ali as his Hilitary Advisor. The deponent had asked Dr.Malik to secure the cease-fire but question of surrender did not arise. The deponent had asked Dr.Malik that he was on the spot and, therefore, he should decide. They should contact with India and secure a cease-fire. Conse-fire and surrender are too different things. The deponent had sent no message to East Pakisten to the effect that American Float was coming to their rescue. It also had any impression that China was about to intervene which was grong.
- 23) That Conorel Gul Hessen was Chief of the Ceneral
  Staff and was responsible for the War time administration.



clong with Air Mershal Rahim had entered into an intrigue with Mr. Bhutto. The deponent was the Precident in and/the practical terms was not direct Commander of the troops.

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24) That the desired result of War could not be secured due to Mr.Bhutto's intrigue. The dependent had asked Air Marshal Rahim that he had been planning about the war for lest five or six menths but why he is not lemnching a big offensive for Woot Pobleton. The Army e uld not fight without the Air Cover. Air Marshal Rahim had said that he had no planes and was also running short of fuel. Later on the dependent he aims that EraBhutto had asked Air Marshal Rahim to let the war be lest in the Wootern theater.

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(the deponent) left for Iran to attend the 25th Anniversary of that he should execute Mujib because other heads of States would be present there and would exercise pressure on the deponent to not Mujib free but the deponent believed in a fair trial of Mujib and said that he was not prepared to take law into his own hands. Mr. Bhutto had also times and again suggested to execute Mujib by securing such a decision for the Military Court but the deponent nover agreed to such an

That Mr. Bhutto had asked the deponent before he



25) That Mujib told Mr. Bhutto in unequivocal terms that he would have no place in his Covernment. Later Mujib told the

dependent that Bhutto had told him "you live here and we live there". Bhutto's intention was that the two wings may be separated.

That it was within the knowledge of the deponent that 26) Mr. Bhutto used to meet Army Officers. Deponent warned Mr. Dhutto many a times and strictly not to most these afficers. Bhutto's contention was that he met the Hillitary Officers without my ulterior motive and that these Military Officers were his old friends. Deponent was also informed by the Foreign Office that Bhutto had been interfering in Foreign affairs and that he used to say to the foreign officers that he was expert in foreign affairs. The deponent also warned the foreign department not to accept any opinion of Mr. Bhutto. The deponent also asked Mr. Dhutto to be careful to have any interferens in foreign office affairs. These COMMO repots were also endorsed by Br. Sultan Ahm d, the then Poreign Secretary. Agha Shehi alm wanted to bocome foreign Secretary. Alwi told the dependent that Bimtto desired that in Foreign Affairs his opinion may be colicited and he may be consulted. Deponent on becoming mere of the situation directed the foreign office were with the dependent and that it was his responsibility to the exclusion of every-body also. Bhutto used to interfere in foreign offeirs as also involved himself in army effeirs.

26) That as regards six points of the Augus Locque
Dr.Hamel-ud-Din Taj-ud-Din and Khund Kar Musikan had difference
with Mujib and they all often used to come to deponent with

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wen a great re-ection in Ameni Loagno against Mr. Bhatto. On the other hand once Minnskar Muchtan told the dependent not to be corried. These six points are only for public and a political atuat. So far as went pakiet a vascone erad treatil be a dicloque and are take with other loaders in metage affections wold not insist on these six points. When depends told this thing to Mr. Bhatto he said these people were liars and could not be be tweed And that now with the passage of time this fact be be approved bop and any shadow of doubt that if Hr. Bhatto had overment. It would be vo ben a sottlemat for a public confeduction or a federation and dismemberment of Pakistan would not have taken place. Hr. Bhatto's stands had all clong been male file.

There was a rift in Ameni Longue on six points. They

were an evil force on Mujib. When Mr. Blmtto was called for ho

used word London Plan that was a fire. At this allegation there.

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Phutto, first that he should sit in oppositions before Hr.

secondly that he should have a settlement with Mujib and if Mujib wished to include him in Covernment he might join him and third suggestion put before him was that if all leaders from West Pakistan supported him then Mujib would be definitely brought to some conclusion, but Mr. Phutto refused to accept any proposals when the deponent called for Mr. Mujib who did not come. Mr. Dhutto

not be cojtent to be second to my body ele.

used this instance to instigate the dependent that so Mujib had refused to not the President which was tantamount to his insult.

Dependent told Er. Dhutto that he was a politician and mot an ordinary man, he could not be compelled through Police for mosting.

- 28) That the notions taken by Mr.Mujib were also met tolerable. Banks and Post Officer were functioning at his orders. Pools or material would be rold to colders by the people at his behast. Prople who weed to go to Army barracks with couplies of edibles were restrained by Hujib. Dependent verned limits not to indulge in those acts which were against the coliderity of the country. Bujib was told that Army was the Matica of Army and not a foreign Army.
- ment deponent had mo doubt about the fact that Mr. Blautto van a conspirator and he slong with Cenl. Gul Hassan and Air Harshal Rahim had made conspirator against the Coversment to come in power, becames once when the deponent heard Blautto maying 'General give power to me'. The deponent asked Mr. Blautto what did he mean by that and why power may be given to him, Haudoodi or Bhashani. Mr. Bhutto asked the deponent that Government may be given to him rherougen the deponent to M him tat Mujib was in Majority and power could me to given to him. Mr. Bhutto refused to go to Dacen and insisted that Coversment may be given to him
- 50) Ther. Bhutto repeatedly made speeches in public nectings

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used this instance to instigate the deponent that as Mujib had refused to see the President which was tantamount to his insult. Deponent told Mr. Bhutto that he was a politician and not an ordinary man, he could not be compelled through Police for mosting.

- 28) That the actions taken by Mr.Mujib were also not tolerable. Banks and Post Offices were functioning at his orders. He goods or material would be sold to solders by the people at his behaut. People who used to go to Army barracks with complies of edibles were restrained by Mujib. Dependent werned Hujib not to indulge in those acts which were against the coliderity of the country. Hujib was told that Army was the Motional Army and not a foreign Army.
- 29) That deponent had no doubt about the fact that Mr. Bhutto was a conspirator and he along with Genl. Cul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim had made conspiracy against the Covernment to come in power, because once when the deponent heard Bhutto saying 'General give power to me'. The deponent asked Mr. Bhutto what did he meet by that and why power mey be given to him, Maudoodi or Bhashani. Mr. Bhutto asked the deponent that Government may be given to him whereupon the deponent to M him tat Mujib was in Majority and power could not be given to him. Mr. Bhutto refund to go to Dacca and insisted that Covernment may be given to him in any way.
- 30) The Tr. Bhutto repeatedly made specches in public meetings

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forgot about Mrs. Indra Gandhi. He was not sincere with nation and country and provided opportunities to enemy to jumpardise the national interest/peace through his behaviour. He was deadly against the Army since Ayub Regime and he did not even coruple to hide his asserted designs of weekening the Pakistan Forces in private moetings.

31) That intelligence rope to from East Pakisten were coming to the effect that ofcume ames were worst, India was ready to att ack and ver could start at any moment. 45 Camps inside India tord -der were open dby India for the training of Mukti Behni, men were ben boing trained by exert Indian Army Officers. India was interfering in internal affairs of Pakkten openly at blatenetlycho uttor dis regard of international rules. Deponent asked India not to interfere in the internal affairs of Pekistan and letters were also written to Secretary General United Nations regarding Indian interference in Pekistan Internal Affairs, whereupon two officials were sent by United Nations Orbanization. Secretary-Constal for the purpose of verifying the state of affairs at the spot. Prince Saddar-ud-Din wanted to become Chairman of the United Nations and he came to Pakistan for support from Pakistan. Deponent promised him the desired, then on refugees topic he was

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Singh sits in conference then what was the need of creation of Pskistan. Deponent told in unequivocal terms that if Curu Bachan Singh sat he would not participate in the Conference. Next day when all representatives entered in the Conference Hall, Shah Hassan, who was the host told that Guroe Bachan Singh was being called with the consent of Pakist an. Deponent was surposed and astonished listening this. As soon as Curoe Bachan Singh entered the Hall, the deponent loft the Hall the very moment and reached the Hotel where he stayed. That then Shah Faisal, Shah Marchash Hassan, and Shah of Iran came to deponent. The deponent again explained to them the theory of ereation of Pakistan. Shah Faisal returned and told that he was not going to conference. Then again when conference was just to start Shah Hassan Host Shah of Iran, Shah Faisel and Shah Hussain did not turnupl Ultimately Guree Bachan Singh was asked to go out fo m Conference and only then he deponentattendedthe conference. That it was a great shock to the deponent that at the time of Islami Sarbrahi Conference at Lahore, that photographs of the Rabat Conference were shown, but the part of Pakistan and particularly about the deponent was out and was not shown and flag of Pakistan was also not shown.

33) That when the deponent postponed the Assembly Session

he was asked by Mujib not to do no or if at cli it was necessary then now data should be amounced. The deponent would have ennounced the new date but the situation in East Pekistan, which was not catisfactory, further deteriorated. The deponent asked Mr. Bhutto that as he had accepted the logal frame work order, he should go to Assembly, but he refused. Mr. Bhutto always opposed Al-Shems and Al-Badar movements because he know that if the movement gained momentum, they would oppose his coming into power. People in those movement were Patriotic and lered the country.

34. That Mr. Blautto had dismissed Gul Hassan and Air Morshal Rahim Khan because he knew that they were his conspirators and could bring him harm. Gul Hassan wanted that Mr. Hhutto should not use the Army when at the time of mme distarbance Mr. Bhutto od led the army, Gul Hassan opposed it. He called Khar from Lahoro and Gul Hassan and AirMarshal Raids were sent to Lahoro with his from there they were nent abroad as Aubassadors.

35)

That the detention of the deponent during Bhutto regime was mala fide. Mr. Bhutto had detained the decement because he did not went that real facts should one before public. The deponent was detained without his consent and was sent to Come Banni where snekes, mosquitos, flies and Jackal were his compenions. No body including relatives was allowed to call on him. A compaign was launched against depenent and his character and personality were distorted fataliy. Pension of the dependent weastopped and

tenants were asked not to pay share to the depenant. The depenant's sen Ali Yahya was also dismissed from the service at the beheat of Mr. Bhutto. Thus Mr. Bhutto strangled the depenant andhis family financially.

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REPORTED

That Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during his temuro of . office with a mala fide intention got the deponent's character assesination. In this regard he observed no moral scruples and having been completely overpowered by his lust for vengeance. harled all his evil forces for causing damage to dependent from all angles. The deponent was got kept in illegal and unlawful detention at very places, during the illegal detention at Banni, the dependent was exposed to snekes, etc. as already stated. Besiles all that scorching heat was another factor which rendered the deponent almost physically undone during the illegal and improper detention not to epeck of a comfort even the facility to the dimention of an iota was the most cherished desire of the deponent. The obb and flow in the unruly of rath of Mr. Bhutto did not cease to the extent of the mental as well as physical torture given to the dependent, the dependent's real brother Arha Muhamad Ali, I.G. Special Police was als subjected to sovers harassment by involving him in different false cases. In addition to all that on the direction of Mr. Bhutto TV, Redio and oven in the newspapers controlled by Press Trust as well as so-called independent newspapers, the dependent was designed as most victous and the propagenda was launched in or der to completely disintegrate the dame

of Qaid-e-Azem's Masoculeum on its completion, The dependent also performed the opening coresonies of Liaquat Bagh as well as Indus. Highway, but to the horror of the dependent, Mr. Bhutto removed the name plate of the dependent wherein the name of the dependent cas incorged/inscribed as having performed the opening coresony of Quaid-e-Azem Masoleum, during his regime. Mr. Bhutto also memoved the name plate of the dependent from Liaquat Bagh, so such as that he (Mr. Bhutto) get smached the name plat of the dependent from the Indus Highway through a memocuvred truck consident. These hard facts display the sardid mentality of the solid Mr. Zulfiger Ali Uhutto

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- remarkable achievement of the dependent, for the dependent thorough atreamous efforts for pursuaded the Rhesian Head of the State for the installation of the said Mills who was pleased to grant loan of 300 Million Robels for that project. However, it is relevent to state in plain words that project heads of state of Pakist an had been endeavouring for the installation of the said. Mills thoroby pursuading America, Cormanyand Egland etc., but in vair.
- that six points verenot divine and couldbe negotiated and another.

  The dependent had gone to this extent that he would hold

  Referendum on that issue to which Mujib contacted that if the

  dependent did so his political career would be ruined.
- 39) That the doponent was very much sincers to transfer power to the elected representatives and hold dections

in spite of all odds. The deponent had meeting with Mujib at Dacca and shen the deponent learnt that some mischief was being hatched the deponent called him but was not honoured. His party colleagues had not allowed him to ome. Dhutto wanted to things, first that Dacon should fall for which he had been intriguing and secondly that India should attack Tost Pekistan and that was why he intrigued with Gal Massan andRahim. He wanted that Army should be for eed to leave and in this way power could be transferred to him. The deponent had no meeting with Mujib during the latter's detention. The deponent wented a fair trial for him. The deponent asked him to choose a counsel of his choice and Brohi was taken. Tho deponent did not send any political lasdor to call on Hujib at Paisalabad. The deparent had sent Mr. Bhutto to the United Nations because the latter claimed that he would set the Hindus right, but he took neveral days to reach New York obviously with the intention that East Pakistan should fall. Even after reaching New York he did not attend the United Nations Sessionfor two days and alm tore evay the Polish Resolution on the floor of the United Nations against my briefings. Even after to fall of Dacca he reached late at Karachi after stopping over \$20 /various placen-

transfer power to majority party in West Pakistan because my house at Poshawar was not 20000 chlome by Hayat Muhammad Sherpes just to create circumstances of disturbances in West Pakistan and passence for transfer of power so I handed over power to Mr. Bhutto

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who after 10 or 12 days arrested the deponent and sent him to Banni. The deponent did not transfer power to my other party because they were met the majority party. As far fall of Dacca responsibility lies both on Mujib and Bhutto but Bhutto was for more responsible than Mujib.

That efter the elections were over the dependent had

suggested to Mr. Bhutto to sit in opposition because he could not become the Prime Minister as he was not the leader of the Hajority Party. He could also muster support of the other West Pekisteni leaders but he glu ays named them as bad eggs. Due to hard and flexible attitude of Mr. Bhutto, East Pakist an was soperated. After a general rovolt in Best Pekisten the deponent had arranged for dialogue and as a last recort had decided for army action. If people were killed in Fast Pakistan responsibility did not lie on the decoment. Allegations of corruption levelled against the depenent were not besed on facts as he after commuting his pension, paid loans he had obtained from the Banks. The allegations of forouritism against the dependent were all baseless. If in his omanity as Procidenta Pakinten he would give some very high post to his ron who was an executive in Burmah Shell and hed and-had joined that come orn before the decreat becomes the C-in-C even. The deponent also did not strangulate tho democracy and held the first ever general elections in the country which were hailed as fair throughout the country as

also abread. That the deponent proved a bridge between America

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and China through his efforts and brought two big powers closer. Dr.Kissinger the then COSCOD Foreign Secretary of Emerica had gone to Peking through efforts of the dependent.

Letters written to the dependent in this behalf are reproduced hereunder.

## "THE WHITE BOUSE WASHINGTON

Angust 7, 1971

Doar Mr.President.

I have already expressed my official sypreciation for your assistance in arranging our contacts with the Peoples Republic of China.

that without your personal accidence this professed brockthrough in relations between USA and the PEC would never have been accomplished.

I wish you would extend my personal thanks
to your Ambassador in Washington and to your associates in
Pekistan for their efficiency and discretion in handling
the very sensitive arrangements.

Those who want a more peaceful world in the generations to come wild for ever be in your debit.

Dr.Kissinger joins me in CASTRONS expressing our deepest gratitude for the historic role you played during the very difficult period.

Sincerely yours,

sa, MIXON "

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## "THE WHITE FOUSE WASHINGTON

July 26, 1971

Dr.Hr.President.

I have so many reasons to thank you that it is diffusult to know where to begin.

First of all, there is the vital role that you played in establish -ing communications between us and the People's Republic of China. Your initiative end discretion made possible the reliable and secure contacts that led to my visit and the Prosident's for theoring trip. You were also well reveal. Hr. Prosident, by your representative here. Ambassador Hilaly's part in this operation vividly demonstrated why he has compiled so remarkable a diplomatic career.

when the skill, tast, and efficiency with thick your efficials carried out my secret mission were rething short of brillient. I hope you will pass on my deep appreciation, and that of the President to all time who realized this venture, including some of your closest advisers, the military personnel who paved our way to and from the airport, and the captain and error of your cirplene. Hy colleagues and I were greatly moved by the historic mature of our flight and the care and warmth with which we were treated as we crossed arms of the world's highest mountains.

Hr.President, the despect thanks go to you who led and orchestrated the entire enterprise. I shall always remember your generosity in the our talks on July 8, when you insisted on setting saide the massive problems that your e untry faces and concentrating instead on my visit to Peking. In addition, I enjoyed, and profited from, my too brief stay in Pekisten itself, the conversations we had, and the gracious Pekistani herpitality.

Your offerts and thuse of your colleagues have made indelible contributions to my personal experience, the foreign policy objectives of the United States, and I believe, the soal of peace in the world.

With warm regards,

Sinceroly,

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His Excellency General Agha Nohrmod Yahya Khan, H.Pk. H.J. President of Pakisten Ravelpindi

phase as far repatriation of P.O.Wo was cornerned, had

D been in power he would have repatriated then very early. Bhutto

by releasing Mujib had lost the bargaining power. Afterwards he

used to may 'Afson Bulbul Urrr Cai'. It was his policy to

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create uncortainty and birsice and then use the situation in his

favour. Bhutto had also suggested to sign an anti-date order for

Hujib's execution and kill him to which the dependent did not agree.

That the deponent discolved one Unit on express desire 43) of leaders from both the wings. The Bengulis know that im this way they would have the right of one man one vote while the leaders in West Pekist an alm blomed One Unit for so many difficulties and problems, the deponent knew that Mr. Bhutto had his clockief potential in West Pekisten and he could create condition in newtorn wing similar to those in East Pakisten. The potenteal dependent know that Mr. Bhutto had his mischief potoleiel in Wort Pekistan and he could create condition in Western Wing similar to those in East Pakisten. The deponent did not orite any open letter to America. The fact is that America had O a letter and published it. The donent alm published his answer sent to Russia. Bhutto categorically said that time and again that he would not sit in any conference where Aschar Ehan

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and Mujib were present. Bhutto had also meetings with Concrete in private parties. He had a habit that he wied to call on CD others and was also master in giving wrong impression of and drematicing the situation. He also used to give impression that he had the blessing of the friendship of Iran, Course Russia and China, of course, more than the State of Pokistan itself. It could be possibility that he was lying again on the behest of some foreign power. The deponent had tried his best to catisfy the Rest Pokistanis and to give them more representation in Army and administration.

44) That it was in the knowledge of the deponent that Mr. Rhutto was a very prejudicial habits. It is submitted that on the occesion of Elections in 9 70, Mr. Bhutto and Mr. C.M. Sayed had an equation on language isone. They wanted an official 🔿 recognition of Sindhi vis-5-viz Urdu language. Hr.Huntas Danltana from Punjab, Master Khan Cul from Frontier Province and Mr.Z.A.Rimtto from Sindh exerted pressure on the dependent for undering one unit. All of the political parties had an equator with the aformentianed leaders for the undoing of one unit. The deponent had a keen desire of holding fair election and therefore, Ar that approaching denter of the exploitation of one unit co m election isme, the deponent agreed to the undoing of one unit. The dependent had before him the communicated blood-shed, look and plunder on issue of one unit during election. Therefore, the deponent agreed to the proposal of the leaders of the political purties.

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are taken into occasionation in which he had said that Printer would remain united, Mujib appeared patriotic if Rhatto had gone to Assembly. The deponent was convinced that the country could be saved. The other Leaders also tried to soft his but Mr. Rhatto did not agree. The deponent did not know about the intrigue between Ar. Mershal Rahim, Cul Hassan and Bhatto before hand. He could, however, learning afterwards.

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- 46) That if Mujib had been apologotic and showed him loyely to the state the deponent could realize him. The deponent did want to set him free rithest my undertaking. The white paper published by the deponent was not on the behest of anybody.
- 47) That the dependent may state that once the dependent appeared before Hamoodur Rohma Commission. He was under detention. His family was being haracsed and Yahya Rakhtier also remained present for reporting everything & Mr. Phutto. The dependent has also included his statement before Mr. Hamoodur Rohman Commission in the Affidavit.
- oquipments of Air Force are scanty and as such this force was not in a position to render proper and effective assistance to the land force in the War of M1. Later on, it transpired that he was alm in league with Mr. Bhutto. In fact the CCCO Armed forces of Phistan could not beg achievements for military point of view on account of the intrigue of Mr. Bhutto which





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paralysed the armed for ces on the war-front of West Pakistan.

The deponent was met the author of the news item to the effect that the Seventh American fleet was set in motion as assistance to the effect that the the Pakistan besides it also appeared in the news paper, and that the China Serces were also coming to Printern which in fact was not true.

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49) That Mr. Bhutto was sent to UEO with ale ar instructions to defend the cause of Patietan on international forms. The dependent was went upon having any reasonable political sottlement with the East Pekistenis within the frame with of Pakistan. It was also the imtructions of the dependent to Mr. Bhutto that my solution of this nature suggested by the community of nation not threatening the integrity of Pekistan should be acceptable on the other hand Bintto was using all the delaying tactics and on his return to Paristan it was also against the imstructions of deponent. Instead of mobilizing support for the canceof Pakistan. Br. Bhutto was creating, deliberately the opposite results by using abusive language irresponsible speeches attending dancing and drinking parties and ringing the deponent up while dead drunk. During these telephone calls Mr. Bhutto used to be dead drunk, not being able to make himself understood because of drumkness whenever he told to come back to Pdris tan immediately to brief the deponent upon the latest situation, his answer was that he wants to stay for a further period. He was also

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mum to the question that how and why he tore the polish resolution against the instructions of the document. Ho answered the deponent that he will ome to know. He made a final call cm in a commanding and rejecting tone that he is rejurning to Pakistan. The deponent unnumer answers was that here are you going to face the people of Pakistanafter having done nationally and internationally every thing to break this country. It is not known to the deponent fully that what kind of persons and personalities had not Mr. Bhutto nor the deliberations of such meetings of within to knowledge of the deponent while he (Mr. Bhutto) was abroad the only feet known is that Mr. Bhutto also spent a couple of days with Princes Achraf Pahlvi before his arrivel to Pakistan.

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the strong was framed with the proposition that fight shall take place with India on the borders of both the wings. Our main aim was to entires the fighting in thribrance of this we were about to leanch another attack from west Phiston. It was Air Marshal Rahim who had betrayed and committed treachery by saying that he had no planes to fight with. Indra Candhi had ale declared a cease fire at this juncture for the reasons unknown to the fuel which is sufficient for not more than 12 days. The similar state of affairs was also disclosed about the emunition, these cease fire and enter into negotiation.

51) That on the one hand Mr. Bhutto released Sheith
Mujibur Rehman immediately who was our trumpourd for the
release of 90,000 prisoners of War on the other hand Mr. Bhutto
tried to pursuade the deponent to that Mujibur Rehman should
be hanged and order of his hanging should be affixed with a date
which was previous to the actual hanging.

52) That Altaf Couhar said to the dependent that Mujib is coming the dependent chould tell him about the danger and threats which our on new was facing. Commemently Altaf Couhar brought both Mujib and Kanal Huceda to the dependent. We exchanged views all through the might. They also had their dinner with the dependent. The dependent varied them that besides politics the safety our country is do important the dependent also suggested that they should also take account of the facts that what harm can India cause to our country, they should also see that what they are doing in those circumstames. Mujib replied that Schib they only went their rights but they should not do any way harm their country.

The deponent also used to have exchanged views with Mr. Bhutto as he used to seet the deponent as he did the sme with others. He used to call theother politicisms of West Pekisten as bad eggs. Mr. Bhutto used to say that he would not sit in a conference where Mujib and Asghar Khan were present.

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53) That Mr. Bhutto used to most Military Generals in various parties hewas introduced with the deponent through F.M. Ayub Khan. He was in thehabit of calling at others. He





was an expert of creating false impression upon others. Like a good seter he used to dramatise the situation to win the confidence of others. He used to try to tricks a that the dependent should start trusting him. Lt. Jeneral Cul Hassan once said to the dependent that Bhutto visits then frequently without my invitation and trid to join them in his dinner.

pirsada Chulam Mehy-ud-pin also told to the dependent that Bhutto comes to him uninvited and would not leave the house unless he had taken dinner with Pirsada. Pirsada also commenting her can he expel a person from his home. It is more appropriate for Mr. Bhutto not to pay such unwelcome visits.



Shaikh Mujib if he re-affirmed his loyalty to Prize are. It was not possible to release him of eroise because he was under-trial over and above Agartala Conspiracy case. It was not possible for the degenent to release Mujib without my reasonable for the degenent to release Mujib without my reasonable guarantee about his conduct. It was the decire of Mr. Dhutto that Mujib should end up dead while in prize on. The details of the Military Court proceedings were also furnished to the deponent. The Chairman of the Military Court recommended that Mujib should be hanged. The deponent could confirm this sentence but he refrained from the ing so hurriedly and

sent the whole record of the case to the Lew Secretary for his comments.

- 55) That the dependent in Dacoa came to know that Conl.
  Tikka Khan had ordered to bring Mujib dead or plive.
  The dependent did clarify his position againg that he
  did not issue such orders to be only ordered the arrest of
  Mujib.
- for participating in the celebrations of 2500 years centenary of Monorchy, Mr. Bhutto approached the dependent and advised that deponent should immediately got Mujib assisinated as the deponent would be under heavy pressue of the foreign states in persia for the rolmse of Mr. Mujib. The deponent turns down the Bhutto's no torious suggestions
- 57) That for all the above reasons Er. Zulfikar Ali
  Bhutto bore a grudge and was out to herm the deponent
  in any way that he liked in order to avenge his C2 nafarious
  designs.
- f8) That the next follows the deponent's statement made by him before Hamoodur Rehmen's Commission held under the orders of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

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That the statement given by the Deponent before Hamood-ur-Rehmon Commission is given below:-

- I. I have today (IS January 72) received a letter do. 67ICW/72 dated II January 72 from Ar. Justice namedur Hehman, the Chief Justice of Pakistan. I am located at the Forest Dak Bungalow BANNI. I am required to give my statement not later than 24 January 1972.
- I would like to make it clear at the outset that I have no access to any records of the Central Govt or General Headquarters to give details of events or exact rates etc of various events. I have however been allowed very kindly by the Chief Justice to decide the form and shape of my statement. Going through the outline of the points given in amexure 'A' I consider that the best way to give a complete picture would be to give my statement in a narrative form, all the points in Annexure "A" are so connected and so inter-linked that a narrative would be the best form of giving a very clear picture. of course, I would be prepared to clarify or elaborate on any point or event subsequently for which I would require the necessary records or evidence of my colleagues and subordinates, both civit and additory. I have perforce lived with the national events, civil, political and military since warch 69 so intimitely west I am recoming this purely from momory. The facts I am going to record are correct but the metalls of dates etc I could only so after cases with records whichat the moment are not available to we.
- 3. It was weren 69 when the whole country by accolate politically, administratively and economically, and I was random with the task of running the country. The only ranson for this task falling on me was that I was the senior most soldier in the country at the time as U-in-C army. The main all I set before myself was to restere power to the political leavers because it is no function of the military to govern any amminister a country. With this AIM and

Consultation Dave 1 '6-16

Falli I began to move towards the salevement of this goal. It is very sad indext that it those a very rearly two years of hard, laborious and strength work to move this politically paralysed child until in accombar P.70 is manyon to stage elections - first ever general elections - in the country. The setable of this two years period is a full long chapter - rather a san chapter - by itself which the whole mation - rether the whole world should by now know.

- A. After the leneral speciens in 1970 a picture emerged which was both peculiar and challenging. In sest Pakistan, the Awari Reague emerged as the nominant political party out without a single seat in West Pakistan. Similarly in west Pakistan the FPP amerged as a majority party but without a played seat in Sast Pakistan. In a contigous country this would now presented NO problem, but separate as our two wings stand the possition was a challenge to human ingenuity. By next worry was how it is going to work-out. I lost no time to start discussions with the locators of victorious parties of the two wings. I went to sust Fakistan in January 1971 and and checked Notice.
  - outlined to the Mation for helping elections and subsequent formation of the Mational Assembly to toke a constitution within a period of 120 days and then convert into a lapillative body. I think it must be quite clear that the rasion baking this plan was making ourse that a constitution is formed and power transferred in the shortest possible time. This plan was accepted by all political parties and they all participate) in the General Sections. These elections had to have a legal cover. I therefore gave them the legal frame-work trace for the interior period of elections and the formation of a constitution and this afterward nave automatically be replaced

by the new constitution. During my various meetings with the political landers I had been explaining to them the necessity of getting together after the elections and threshing out the broad principles and the outline of the constitution before the assembly was called to sension by me. The idea was to save time, because I was dreading that in case no agreement was reached during 120 days the assembly would have stood assolved and the country faced with a terrible deadlock. All leaders had agreed with this idea and promised to do so. In fact their multiplied to that the salient features of the constitution would be agreed upon outside the house by mutual discussions in a spirit of give and take.

No black take as that his six point progresse was NOT a "word of God" one would be adjusted to muit all the reaccuting units of Pakistan.

This is well known to everybody.

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6. In January 71 when I went to Jicca had not sheikh kujib I was greatly perturbed to see a change in the wood of Awami Leagus leadership. I congratulate, them on their great victory and started talking about the mathodology of various elected lancers getting together and to savise as on the approximate time of calling the Assembly to session. I was bluntly told that there is no question of meetings cutsian the Assembly and that I should call the session as soon as possible in the first week of february. This was I think in late sammary (I. I told Sheikh Najib that the west Pakistan leaders had to be consulted too and the first week of February would be too early. I might meeting here I had already announced that first session of the Assembly would be in traces. From this point of these size of the and of work was going on in the building which was to home the onlarged detional Assembly (313 members as apacount to 150 of the old National Assembly).

So the earliest I could call the Assembly was MCT before the end of February. I told bhritin ha jib this . He of course said that Middle of February was the latest I should call the Assembly. He was not interested in talking to other lesions of most Pakistan.

About this time (late January 71) the events in short Pakistan need to be high-lightened. Processions, rallies, public meetings were a day and night happenings. One could not understand the purpose. One would have thought that apart from the natural jubiliations on the electral victory of the Award League, the mood should have been on of matinfaction una mover behaviour of the ina more and the project sleetiens were given to them after years of political control and controlled frunchise. It was intend very puseling. The only reason I can think of is that Armani League party had in it a strong element of extremists, leftists and, as transpired later on, Indian inspired intruders who were not interested in a Constitution for CMS Pakistan but were exploiting the creation of Bangla Jesh - away from West Pakintan and closely linked with Tratia. It were becoming quite abvious that Indians found this opportunity of librombering Pakistan - their ago old dream. Sheikh Mujib's own public speeches and other declarations became harder and harder day by day and ne was calloping towards a position of No return'. I had very serious discussions with him and his advisors and pleaded with them to be intient and show a spirit. of give and take as he had promises before the elections. It in worth aentioning here that many ambier political leaders from Most Pakisten were rushing to inces in turn and having dialogues with Sheikh Aujio. I am not aware of the subject of those dialogues. In short, I pursuaded Sheikh Mujib to have a dialogue with Mr. 2.A. Chulto, the leader of the sajority mrty in West Pakistan.

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H. At this stage shocks angle lasked by advice on the problem. He said to me that it is the first time in the history of Pakistan that I (a soldier) have given them free general elections and that his party would like us to stay as a constitutional President. I at once brushed it aside by saying that I do not count. My greatest desire in life is to many over power to the elected representatives in Pakistan. This would be my greatest reward.

Since he asked me my advice, I gave him the following:-

Sheikh Sahio there are three courses open to you.

- a. As a majority party in the assembly, even without a single seat in went Pakistan, you can make a constitution by yourself and form a government by yourself, but then, constitution of a country is not just another law. It is a document which must astinfy reasonably all the foderating units of Pokistan big or small constitution is an understanding to live together. It is not just another act of Parliament. Now land would such a constitution last;
- b. You can associate some parties from went Pakistan. These small parties have been sefected as parties by PPP and have emerged only as twos, threes and fours. Thus without the largest successful party in west Pakistan, how long would your most last, especially when martial law would be lifted and you would only nave the normal civil machinery of swint-inim, law and order.
- c. Your party and the PPP could make a coalition. It is nothing new in the error. It has nothing new in the error. It has nothing new in the error. It has happened before. It has happened in countries which are contigous. In our case of Pakistan, with two widely separates wings, it becomes all the more necessary to get going. After some time both

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the parties i.e. Award Largue and PPP could spread their political activities in both the wings and in a future election they could fight elections as dational Parties as engosed to regional parties.

- y. I appealed to him to consider these factors and get the govt machinery going because there was no hitch now for transferring power to the elected representative Govt. Sheikh mujib heard all this out said nothing. I at once realised that he had no intention of listening to any such advice. This attitude left me very sad. Inspite of all this I advised him to meet er. 3.A. Thatto are evolve a versable solution.
- 10. On the allitary and thus and order also about this time (late January: 71), signs of unrest were beginning to appear. The "enthusiash" shown by the Awami Leage workers for months of electioneering was beginning to spirit over this post election pariod in a bigger and bigger way. Alling crowds under various gards were showing lawlessness in way of look, arson and intimidation of non Awami Leaguers. Extremists and leftists were constitting acts of nooriganism. A was not at All happy over the turn the events were taking.
- II. I discussed this in great setuli with the devernor Admiral abson and the ALA come of it. den. Includ. I noticed a distinct divergence of opinion amongst them, whereas Ahsen showed a great deal of timiness and person it off as a natural afterenth of elections and was against any atrict control, includ was worried and wanted the accurance to enforce low and order through his normal civil and police agencies and also by personding the Political lowers to show restraint. Takub was conflict that if called upon to all the civil power he would help successfully.

A word about the civil amministration. There were three 12. elements. One element consists; of those who were openly pro-Awami Leaguers and we such were jetting their directions from the Awami League high townand even long before the elections. The second element was anti Awami Leaguers and believed in the stability of Pakistan out were terrified to say or no anything. The third element was small element of non Bengalis who were also affraid of maying or doing enything. Similarly the Police Force were equally ineffective and fell back on the support of the. East Pakistan Mifles - a Time force all the years of Pakistan's creation but, had begun to show signs of subversion in line with the hate campaign which was generated all these months of political activities carried out by the Awari League. It is well known that the very basis of awami league political compaign was based on the hatrel of nest familian and how the West Pakistanis have been exploiting in sucking their blood since the inception of Pakistan.

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13. The intelligence agencies both contral and Provincial by this time stood paralysed. They cared not report anything to the Govt which would displease their future political masters. The military intelligence was not designed to weal with internal problems, their task being purely confined to Intelligence on India. They were reporting large scale Indian activities either directly or through Hindus in East Pakistan in way of pouring in financial assistance and also sawagaling of arms and amountain from across the Bordors, apart of making reports they could not stop such amountaing because the agencies designed to do so were the Police and the EPR who I said earlier were subverted.

14. On the military front, there was one Infantry Division plus in East Pakistan. This has been the force in East Pakistan more or loss since partition. After the 1965 war, I had built this

Division from a week Infantry Livision to fairly strong Infantry Division plus. I had sent there an armoured Regiment, some Field Regiments and Heavy Forters as an operational requirements. I was planning to build up the sant Pakistan garrison to at least two Divisions as the minimum operational garrison. This planning had nothing to do with the recent developments, but was a part of strengthening East Pakistan defences. Infaddition, East Pakistan had one Sepandon of his Force and a small force of Naval gun bosts. I was planning to make Bast Pakistan self sufficient in arms and assumition. For this purpose an armament factory was built and was producing small Arms and communition. This planned figure of two Divisions for East Pakistan was considered to be the minimum Force to face three to four Infantry Divisions of the Indian Army normally allotted against dast Pukistan. The bilk of the Indian Army was constantly massed against West Pakistan. This is themson for keeping the bulk of the Pakistan Army in hest Pakistan. All military Commanders in Pakistan have been of the firm belief that the Defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan for the simple reason that to defend both wings of Pakistan in equal numbers would be asking for defeat in detail. Any military scientist will understand this philosophy, so I need not dilate on this.

- 15. This then, was the picture in East Pakistan in late
  January 71. By parting directions to the Governor and the MLA
  Lone 8 were to try and maintain law and order without any undue
  harsh measures but minimum action to keep law and order is a NUST.
- 16. To Shoith hajio, I again appealed to exercise maximum political control us he should seen be the frime Minister of Pakistan and he should start behaving as sud. Impact him to visit west Pakistan and exert his influence as the future frime minister. He promised to no so.

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- 17. I returned to Lost Pakistan in early rebrusty and went to see Mr. A.A shutto at Larkana, he was quite prepared to talk with Sheikh Mujio and wanted some time for those discussions before the National assembly cossion was called. Those talks did take place at Dacca when the PPP leaders visited East Pakistan. After several meetings the PPP team returned to went Pakistan. It was again indicated to see that more talks were necessary between the two anjur parties.
- IS. By the middle of rebruary things in East Pakistan began "notting up". The well known student's may on 2I Pobruary was used as a lover to whip up reemay by the Amani Languers demanding immediate calling of the Setional Assembly. I called Shoikh Mujib to come to went Pakistan to discuss the mechanics of the Sational Assembly and atteast talk to West Pakistan lendors. Sheikh was assembly and refuse, to come to mest fakistan lendors. Sheikh was assembly and refuse, to come to mest fakistan. He bluntly stated that invone from best fakistan could go to East Pakistan. His mix point programme is firm and final and anyone who sees not like them could please himself. His stand could not be altered on any account. As a majority party he has a right to issue the six point programme; the others must conform. I was a mazed at this complete turn of attitude of the Amani League.
- 19. Finding myself in a position where the major parties had seemed to reach a decided, a decided to name a date for the Mational assembly myself. Like many other accasions during the previous two years I had to take a decision myself without any agreed solution between the positional parties themselves. I decided to call the mational assembly dession on hard, the 3rd 197% at made trying to find a via semial between the two view points.
- 20. Thile in Sept Poxistan Assembly accordinged to whip up frenzy and agitution, the autor party in West Pakistan showed reductance to attend the Estional assembly until on the 28th February the FPP unnounced a boycot of the sational assembly.

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Along with the major party several smaller parties of West Pakistan also arrounced their reluctance to attend the Assembly on 3rd warch. Finding the situation where main the country was going to be unrepresented 1 had do alternative and to postpone the mate for a short while so that in agreed cate could be found by the political leaders themselves. Up to this may a would like to know what other decision 1 could have made, under the directmentances?

21. It looked as if the award where was waiting for an opportunity like this. an immediate nartal throughout Bast Pakistan was enforced. It is quite evident that this was all preplanned, and all machinery for an open rebeation was well planned and prepared. A schame of civil discusuisnes and immediately enforced. The Governor, whom I had given clear out instructions, panicked and lost complete control of the citation. I st once relieved him of his responsibilities and charged Lt. Gen. Takub to take over both the functions. I gave Yakub clear instructions in writing that he must maintain law and order at all costs and that he would have my full support and confidence. I asked him to ask for any assistance he required to support him in his task. Incidentally, when I was giving instructions to Lt. Gen. Yakub on the End or 3rd of Harch, hr. w.A. Bhutto (the President) happened to be sitting with me in my room in the President's House Karachi.

- 22. I also sent several personal assesses to sheigh Majib requesting him to be patient and asset by arrival in Beccu and not to take any hasy action. Lews were affort that he was going to declare J.B.I. (Unilateral acclusting Independence).
- 29. On 6th or 7th Larch, in a public meeting Shoikh Bujib came up with four immunis:
  - a. Lift Martial Law immuniately.
  - b. Hand over power at once.
  - c. Appoint on inquiry commission to go into the incluent

of firing in succe and the action of the army (A few days earlier APA one the army in support, had to open fire in Bacca to step arson, loot and Hooliganism).

- d. Roturn of the anny to parrocks.
- 24. I again sent a personal message to Sheikh Mujib to await my arrival and NOT to precipitate matters, meanwhile Lt. Gen. Yakub sent a signal to UNQ stating that he was namning over charge to his second in Comman and then resign. This move of Yakub was most unprecedented in the history of any professional Army. This assumes to having cold foot and "retting", one cannot imagine a commander in the field telling the high Gommand that he is quitting his post in the thick of the matter, wormally this meanly amount to assertion in the face of the enemy and attracting the penalty of being court—martialled and shot. I directed that Yakub so told NOT to hand over to his Second in Command and await the arrival of Lt. Gen. Tikka when acre to his second from Yakub.
- 25. I had in the meanwhile called upon all the elected political leaders to meet me at income on 10 March to fix the programme of the mational assembly, as far as I remember with the exception of PPP who agreed to attend, all the other leaders refused to attend a finding no other way I again fixed the date for the Mational assembly on the 25th of earch 7I.
- 26. I arrived backs on the 14th or 15th March, 10 days prior to the Sational assembly bession on the 25th March in order to have consultations with the avant league leavers, meedless to pay that on my arrival a forms made a city of black flags with a sprinkling of rangle resh flags. There was do control of the Boyt whatseever, avant langue migh Johanni was issuing orders and instructions to various agencies. These instructions were mostly negative. Do not pay taxes or land revenue. Stop working the factories and business houses. In other words complete Civil disphesience was in full swing. The life of the citizen

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stood paralysed. What was going on actively (and this wa camp to know later) was killing of non sengalis and non conformists, armon, raps, look and all the horricle atrocities that were revealed in the wasks and months to follow. The Army was in barracks with the Civil supplies to them number by the Amemi League High Command. The Army was living on their cam dry rations. The abuses hurled at the Army were so filthy that even a foreign energy nation would not use such phareses, e.g. "Go back West Pakintani Army Dogs", "Go back Yahya's dogs". "You defeated degratof 1965 war. we will throw you in the flay of bengal.". All this was being openly published in the Bangla Press. The Wornt was the paper controlled by Sheim, Aujib bimeeif - the PECPLE, No: one can holp praising the discipline of our Army Javana, who more tolorating all this. A lesser army would have lashed out at all . this. But 'our Army showed a magnificient sense; of discipling and restraint:

27. I at once started my moetings with Shoim Mujib and his advisers. Sheikh told me quite bluntly that he could not live with West Pakistan on the cla basis anymore. I must accode to him four demands (montioned in para 23) and have two separate messions

of the Mational Assembly - one consisting of Sast Pakistan KNAs and the other of West Pakistan KNAs. After the two Assemblies have formed their own constitutions, then the two Assemblies could meet in a joint session to see if there is any basis of living together and so on and so forth. All the datails are given in the white Paper issued by the Goyt. Maving argued with him at length over several days and explaining to him the unworkability of his demands is decided to send for the leaders of Parliamentary groups of the fintional Assembly from West Pakistan. Those who arrived word - Mr. 6. A. Uhutto and his advisors, Khan Wali Khan, Fr. Daultana, Mafit Mahmood, Khan Qayum, Sarder Showkat Mayat, Mr. Hisanjo and a Tom others.

Shoukh Mujib to verify for themselves. They were completely surprised at this change in the stance of Assaul League. After they

all saw Emelah Mujib collectively and individually, they all came and told me that Mujib's demands were totally unacceptable to them, and amounted to complete secession. I asked their advice as to what do.

I should/They had No mivice to offer and said "we leave it to your".

Mr. Ehutto was the only leader who advised me to restore the authority of the Govt. Pakistan cannot be allowed to break like this. I then discussed plans for the restoration of law and order with my Malitary Commanders like Gen. Hamid, Gen. Tikka Khan and other Generals on the staff who were present with me at tacca like Generals, feerzada,

Umar, Mitha, Farman Ali, Khadim staja, we chalked out a programme of restoring law and order and bring back the writ of the Govt.

It was on the night of the 25th March that Army moved out of the barracks and went about their tesk of restoring law and order. I gave specific instructions to use minimum force and arrest all the rebal loaders including Sheikh Aujib. I particularly stated that No bodily harm should come to Sneikh Najib and other leaders. Apart from Sheikh anjib and ir. Asmal Hussain, all other leaders escaped and eventually were found in Calcutta. We are uccused of proplanning this midutary action before I arrived in Dacca. My answer is if we had proplanmed all this, would any of those leagers be able to escape to India? Within hours of Military action, the extent of preparations by the rebels began to become apparent. Troops in Dacca faced volleys of machine gun bursts from the nostels of Golleges and the university "This includes girls hostels also. Of course the University and Colleges were closed for diys and no regular students were present in these buildings. There were heavy concentration of rabels armed with Machine gune, light Automatics and Morters, huge dumps of amountaion were found in those seats of learning. Or be morning of 26th Ferch, the Police, the EPR and all the buttalions of simt began to desert with arms and ammunition. Many of their west Pakistani officers and JCCs including towir families were outchered. This then was

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the extent and scale of the armed reballions that our army had to face. It was not a normal law and order problem, we faced an armed rebellion. As the troops cleared deces and began to fan out into the country side in persuit of these robels, the resistance became stiffer. It was obvious the ladian infiltrators with masseve arms and ammunition wars there to join the rebels.

29. We began to realise that the usual estimate of hilitary strength against an Indian invasion was not the enswer. It was not the fire power so much which was required, we headed compower to face this situation, we began to send reinforcements from west Pakistan. This historic military planning and execution. The world was agazed with the manner in which we reinforced the east Pakistan garrison with an additional two division in a matter of weeks and by long circuitous route via Ceylone. I have actuing out praise for our planners and all agencies like PIA, MSC, redlways and all other vivil agencies concerned.

30. The back of the rebellion was broken within a pouple of months, what we suchenly faced then was open and shameful interference from the indian army. Not only were the Indians giving manetuary to the rebels and not only were they openly training and arming these revels in some 23 training Camps, the Indian troops started joining the rebels against our troops. All the cetails of these activities and indian participation openly are available in CH4. I cannot possibly recount all those from memory.

31. The Indian propagation to make political and financial capital out of sispinosi persons in Antis pecase more und more intense and the Indians began to itensify their open participation in opposing our forces. -continuous shalling across our borders including occasional air attacks become a dairly routine.

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- 32. I must at this stage mention the steps that I took internationally all along, especially since earch 71. I am afraid I will not be doing justice to our case if I sive random account of these measures. I would request the directation to call for all the exchange of messages between we are the heads of major states and other friendly countries. In particular I would recommend the exchange of messages with day, thing, dusting and UN Secretary deneral. The Poreign Secy, are called should be asked to produce these documents seriates, an exemination of those documents would show that I spared so effort and left He stone unturbed to wake up the International Communit to bring nome to those the group open aggression by the anxious in our internal offairs and planning to thrust were upon us. A study of these documents is most important to get a correct parametries.
- 33. I must cention one aspect of our international relations which is NOT known to among in the country including the Govt circles - both civil and military. The recent detante between China and USA. The nation and the world to not know about the part I personally played in bringing these two mighty powers to a point of talking to each other. It all st-rted when in July 69 President Nixon visited Pakistan for a day. It started then. It took me full two years of hard laborious effort to bring these two mighty powers to a point of telking. These two nations have shown such gratitude to us that I can MOT roally describe. Why I say all this is because it was wind; sue to this reason that both these countries gave us political and diplomatic support inspits of A-morican press, the Sen to and the Congress being so heetile to us. Unfortumently this supjort was NOT enough in the face of AUSSIA's open support to I wis but U. on I could MCT, drive them to to "il" sorn.

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Since 25 tarch, our troops in Sast Pakistan had been battling relantlessly, without rest or relief, suffering fairly heavy casualties especially when the Amilians at rtal their firing with heavy wempons like, medium guns, Tiol. guns, mertara, tunks ani aircraft. On 20 Movember the Indian are inv. bl our territory in East Pakiston openly and started taking change of our territory. It was obvious that full scale use was one I had been declaring again and again both mationally and internationally that attack on a part of our territory in Bust Pakistan would be un all out attack on Pakistan. There was a general classour in the country including armed forces as to what we are waiting for. In the accommile Implans had started their activities of larger violations in Aged Kashmir and also continuous violations of our air space. I had a meeting in HQ with or CCG, the C-in-C hir Force, CCS and many other General officers of 204. In all came to the conclusion that if we do not act immediately the Indians would take over East Pakistan was direct all attention to West Pakistan. The C-in-C Air Force planted for peralsolon for pre-empting the Indian sirforce by allowing him to strike their forward air bases; otherwise the strength of the Indian sirforce was so over-shelming that they would be listating their own terms to our airforce when starting full scale attack on test fordist no ammodisting the situation I have permission to the air riere, the army and the many to go ail out in reply to this neken and shameless aggression of the Indian armed forces. Our wir force struck on the evening of 3rd December and our Army which was fully seployed weeks whead moved into action. A bitter and intense war was fought on the western front and was continuing when the international "community surrenly wolm up and started discussing the situation in the United Mations. Incidentally I had discussed the situation with Ar. Aurul Amin and with Mr. Shutto both of whom not talked of the inevitability of

that the draft message to the secretary General had gone much beyond what he had originally proposed and what I had allowed him to do. His draft proposal virtually meant independence of East Pakistan while he talks about repatriation of troops from East Pakistan and handing over power to East Pakistan representatives meaning the defunct Awami Leaguers. I further suggested to him that in order to stop senseless blood-shed of civilian population he should ask the local Indian Generalizes in East Pakistan to agree to an immediate cease-fire in East Pakistan, at the same time pointing out that the question of surrender does not arise and they must guarantee the safety of our troops and guarantee against any represent against any civilian person in East Pakistan.

- 37. Defore my latest message to Dr. Nalik reached him we came to know that General Farman all either without or with Dr. Malik's permission had pessed on their original draft message to United Nation representative for Refugees and Rehabilitation present in Dacca and who had promptly passed on to the Secretary General in New York of course on hearing this I at once cancelled this communication which had gone to the United Nations without my permission.
- 38. On 15th December I received a Flush message from General Miani. He had told the American douncil General in Bacch that in order to save millions of lives which would inevitably result from further hostilities, in major cities like sacca, he requested for immediate coase-fire under the following committees:-



- a. Régrouping of Pakistan armed forces in areas to be mutually agree: upon between Comminders of opposing forces.
- b. To quarantee the safety of Ailitary and para Military forces.
- c. Guarantee of all those who has settled in East Fakistan since 1947.

full scale wer in lest radiatan. In the meanwhile I asked Mr. Shutto to lead Pakistan Delegation to different assembly and the Security Council, while the Security Council, with the ever present Veto of Aussia, debaged day and night, the Indian armed forces backed up by the might, of the mussians were reducing Sast Pakistan to a state of utter helplosmess. The maily situation reports received by General Meadquarters from Communer Eastern Council were quite covicusly painting a hopless Dicture. The Indian army in cast Pakistan with a strength of IO mivisions and mighty air force were completely over-nowering our releagered garrison in Sast Pakistan cut off by sea and air with no reinforcements possible.

- Jovernor or relik in which he states with the full support of General Wiszi, that the initian air force is carrying out such intensive bombariment and straffing of civilians in Bacca and other places that it would be impossible to hold outs much longer. He told me that if searthing does not happened within mext couple of days East Pakistan would have to go under. On the receipt of this signal I called my CGS, C-in-C air Force and in consultation with them I sent a reply to Dr. Malik, stating that cut off as we were from each other, it was impossible for me to assess the situation and I left it to the Governor, in consultation with Constal Miazi, to take what appropriate action he thought fit in order to save the civilians population from Indian massacre.
- 36. On the IO of December Governor Walik sent me another signal with a draft message to the Bocretary General of United Hations. This straft asked for an immediate cease-fire in East Fakistan, the political transfer of power to East Fakistan representatives for formation of Govt in Easca, repatriation of armed forces to West Pakistan and so on. He asked for my permission to send this signal to UN Secretary General. I had another meeting with COS, G-in-C ir force and sent back a Flash signal saying

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4I. When the Indians unleasned full scale attack on west Pukiston, it was not the Indian arm t forces acces but were backed up by the active participation of the dussians. Apart from the material assistance in the form of air craft, guns, tunks and missiles Which the Bussians were supplying to inlia oponly, it is quite clear by now that dussians were actively supporting the Indian Armed Forces. Two glaring examples are the use of about half a dozen warge wir craft of duction make noticed by our airmen operative in the western and the nouthern sectors of West Pakistan. These aircraft were nothing but flying fortresses bristling with electronic gaugets which enabled the Andian phlote to pin-point dargets in Fakistan and guide the malian air craft on to thum. At the same time those electronic gadgets used to warn the Indian Lirerait whenever they work chased by our own air craft. These were most sophisticated facilities which the Indian Air Force but in their support which changed the ecoplexion of air warfare that is normally known in mouern times. This has been reported by our G-in-C hir force. Secondly a number of accts fitted with long range missiles were operating in our waters outside marachi. It was later confirmed that it was these missiles from boats that were hitting our oil targets in Karachi harbour. It is remarkable how our air force destroyed approximately I50 enemy air crafts inspite of tremendous odds against them. Without the support of Russia this would'have been a crippling blow to the Indian Air Force but with the full and free supply of air cruft to the Indiana these losses began to look insignificant. tur Army place fought gallantly on all fronts and had made quite a rew denta in the Indian positions but here again the over wholming majority of the Indian army backed up by unlimited air force was making the things look wary difficult.

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d. No reprisels against those who helped the administration since March VI.

General Miszi further stated that the Pukistan armed forces will cease all operations.

- This then, in brief, is the story of cease-fire in Zact Pakistan. I personally do not consider this as a military deback at all or surrenger of forces in strictly military term. "t was a case of an over-shelmingly large -niian army and air force. supported by the most sophisticaled equipment of mighty Hussia that brought about the situation in sust Pakisten . It was the peculiar geographical position of dast Pakistan cut off by sea and air and an area with 'frontline', all round. It was not a cuse of , straight battle between opposing forces. It was a case of overwhelmingly neavy olds both from the energy and the natural geographical committions, Dicca, the only sirport for jet aircraft, was damaged beyond repairs and our gallant small. airforce could not operate any more. This allowed the Andian girforce ,a free ham to devestate the civilian targets at will. Svon the devernor's nome was attacked by enemy fets at will. I can confidently say that we military misterian would call this a military defeat. It was nothing but a treachery of the INDIANS.
- 40. The second main point which is the subject of the inquiry by the inquiry boundarion in that of cease fire in Next Pakintan. I am not quite sure about the reasons for inquiring into this aspect because it is almost an internationally known subject. However I briefly explain the situation under which the cease fire came about in the following paragraphs.

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- I could closely see the pattern and the sim of the Indiane during this war. To begin with their ground force was not very bold and entergrising. Their mirrores was unleashed to go for oconomic targets in what fakint mi For instance they were hitting our oil reservos in Karachi and Attack Cil. They were nitting the bui Gws. They were mitting our relieway stations, and our rolling stocks particularly our railway engine. They were hitting our water and power resources like langla Lam. These targets guite obviously were enceen to lostroy Pakistan economically. The intensity of these attacks were tecoming wore and more ferocious. Obviously their aim was to hit us oconomically in heat Pakistan while they were easy requeing Mich fact man that the vivert their Air Ferne from Sant wing to west bukistum together with a switch over af about 5:to 6 divisions from East to west Ptalsusm which would have tilted the balance against us so heavily that they would have had an easy run in the western wing. This is as far as our military situation is concerned.
- A3. In the international field the security council was sebating a dozen resolutions and after another, all asking for a come fire estween India and Pakistan together with withdrawal of troops and political settlement, wone of these was allowed to go through by the eletant veto vy Mussia. So such so that the case was taken to demark assembly and there by an overchelaide assembly of votes a resolution was passed which asked for an indialite case fire estween Ingla and Pakistan. This resolution was passed by adjusting the council to a passed by adjusting of 105 votes and Pakistan was one of true. The votes against were of India, dussia and its suttelities.

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This is a fact; and we would now continued to do so and this over wholming amjority restriction passed by the descript Assembly not come about. It is worth remembering here that India having rejected this resolution in the descript Assembly promptly accepted it after the fact of most resistant at this stage if Pakistan had said MG, it would have gone against its original acceptance of the resolution. It is also worth remembering that the leader of our selegation to the UN and his historic performance in the Security vernal had accessed the big Nations of wasting away precious time on small matters in the Security Council and they were only waiting for the fall of space before, passing a meaningful resolution, it is clearly evident that our delegation was constantly managering at the world body to bring whost secession of nontilities.

45. On 16th of Lecember when invira Januari announced the acceptance of cease-fire, I called an immediate amoting of my CUS, C-in-C Air Force and Chi to consider the situation. We all agreed that after the first of dist rakistan and with the switch over of Indian Army and wir force to the West Wing our task would have become very lift loast particularly when their aim est to destroy our economics unit also supported by a mighty power supplying them with armement, their most aim would have been to destroy our air Force and our heavy armament like tanks and guns. While this meeting was going on I immediately called all the relevant secretaries of the government to join us in the meeting. These were my sconomic advisor, the befonce Secrebary the Finance Secretary, the Industries Secretary, the Foreign Secretary the Information Secretary and one or two others. This body of secretaries incidently is what was called emergency council which . was nothing more than a group of secretaries of the Central Government who use to mast every day to coordinate the war efforts Agencies. between armed forces and sivil purious bhen I explained the



situation to every body present I asked them for their advice.

The Secnomic Advisor, as the Senior Most member of the Secy stated that they themselves, as unargency council, have been considering this problem and have come to the conclusion that Pakistan has no course open but to accept cease-fire at this stage. We all agreed to cent out a message on the following limes:

"UN General assembly resolution which was passed by overwhelming majority of 105 votes and which Pakistan had accepted and India had rejected and now has accepted, Pakistan declare to cause hostilities in West Pakistan and we call upon the Secretary General to ensure that Immediate Coase Fire in the Eustern Sector and on the Cease Fire Line in azad Kashmir is enforced, we also call upon the Secretary General to arrange the withdrawal of troops to the Anno-Pakistan Borier and to the Cease Fire Line in Mashmir in conformity with the UN Assembly resolution".

- 46. This is the story of the Cease Fire in Seat Pakistan and how it came about. I should have thought that this is already a known situation both nationally and internationally.
- M7. General. This briefly emis my marrative of the events of the past 2½ years which I stated earlier is all I can produce from memory. The other items given in the Americe 'A' of your letter No. 6-104/72 dated II don 72, if not already covered in the marrative will require the study of documents of the Central Government, ministry of defence and General Headquarters to which I have no access at the moment. I would welcome any clarification which is to be sought on any point that I have mentioned or I may not have mentioned but I would like to make it clear that any more answers or statements required by me will need the availability of those comments and the presence of many functionaries of Government with me.

Cos diseased 2 Revelopment 2 ANY EAULTS C: HUJID'S GENPLICITY THE LEGIANS IN THIS SCROTTO AFFAIR OF CASSESSION OF SAST PARISTAN SHOULD ESCURE CAYSTAL CLEAR AFTER HIS FOUT RELEASE BEHAVIOUR OF GOING TO LOUDGE AND LETHI TO PAY HOLAGE TO INDIRA CAMERI AND HIS SHAPELESS STATE ENTS.

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Verified that the above contents of my affedavit are true to the best of my knowledge and nothing had been concealed thereof verified at Savalpinai this 29th day, 1978.

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